

**Women and Writing: A Comparative Study of Some Texts**  
**by Miles Franklin and Higuchi Ichiyô**

Natsuko Iida

B.A.

(Sugiyama Jogakuen University, Japan)

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
Master of Arts

University of Tasmania

July 2003

## **Declaration of Originality**

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for a degree of diploma by the University or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, no material previously published or written by another person, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed. *Natsuko Oida*

Date: *11/8/2003*

## Statement of Authority of Access

This thesis may be made available for loan and limited copying in accordance with the *Copyright Act, 1968*.

Signed. *Natsukv Sida*

Date: *11/8/2003*

## Abstract

This thesis examines textual comparisons between Miles Franklin (1879-1954) and Higuchi Ichiyô (1872-96). This is an interdisciplinary project that applies the methodologies of comparative literature, feminist literary studies, and comparative studies between Australia and Japan. My methodology depends particularly upon feminist approaches to modern women's literature and an international tradition of women's writing. Thus, feminisms such as poststructuralist and postcolonialism are not applied here because they stress a notion of difference, broadly defined, between women through arguments based in identity politics. Likewise, differentiating Franklin and Ichiyô, Australia and Japan, as the Occident and the Orient is not to my purpose.

Translation is a major medium or resource in comparative literary studies. *My Brilliant Career* is available translated into Japanese while some of Ichiyô's texts are translated by Robert Lyons Danly. However, I study the original texts and quote both in English and Japanese, avoiding some of the restrictions and cultural reshaping of translation.

In the Introduction, I look into Australia's bush myth and Japan's "ie" system as Franklin's and Ichiyô's cultural backgrounds. These paradigms, which also operate as ideologies, are powerfully similar in their significance as invented cultural and national traditions. In my reading of Franklin's and Ichiyô's respective texts, as both individual texts and intertexts in each chapter, I focus on commonalities in their concerns about femininity, sexual politics and gender issues in relation to their cultural and political contexts.

The primary focus in my thesis is their shared use of metaphor. I discuss bird/s, in Chapter two, as a metaphor for women. In *My Brilliant Career* (1901), *My Career Goes Bung* (1946) and *Childhood at Brindabella* (1963), Franklin's bird imagery signifies various situations and experiences of the women characters. Ichiyô's bird imagery in the



diaries (1912) and *Wakarejimo* (1892), together with its cultural and social signification, implies women's suppressed sexuality.

Chapter three investigates images of gardens. In *My Brilliant Career* and *Childhood at Brindabella*, representations of gardens are the symbolisation of femininity and female power. Images of gardens in Ichiyô's diaries, *Yamiyo* (1894), *Utsusemi* (1895) and *Warekara* (1896) symbolise not only the women characters' powerlessness but also their resistance and self-understanding.

My investigation of metaphor reveals Franklin's and Ichiyô's rejection of patriarchal ideologies and confirms their shared project of speaking for women through their writings. Thus, these writers participate in an on-going and international tradition of feminist literature. The particular contribution of this thesis is to make Franklin's and Ichiyô's shared project visible through comparative literary studies.

## **Acknowledgements**

I am indebted to my main supervisor, Dr. Jenna Mead, for her patience with my clumsy writing and for her thoughtful guidance and helpful suggestions. I am also indebted to my associate supervisor, Dr. Maria Flutsch, for her strictness about my “Japanesey” English and for her guidance and constant encouragement. Special thanks go to my parents in Japan who have been waiting patiently for my return, Vicki Wills who has cared for me as my surrogate mother and best friend, and Takame Ueki-Sabine and Fumiko Plaister who have enlivened my life in Tasmania and helped me rediscover the significance of traditional Japanese culture.

## **Contents**

<i>Abstract</i>	i
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	iii
<i>Contents</i>	iv
<i>Abbreviations and Notes</i>	v
<i>List of Illustrations</i>	vi
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Literature Review</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>Chapter 2: Women as Birds</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>Chapter 3: Gardens for Women</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>Works Cited</b>	<b>157</b>
<b>Works Consulted</b>	<b>172</b>

## Abbreviations and Notes on Higuchi Ichiyô's Writing, Japanese Texts and Translation

[1] Miles Franklin, *My Brilliant Career* (1901) – *MBC*

Miles Franklin, *My Career Goes Bung* (1946) – *MCGB*

Miles Franklin, *Childhood at Brindabella: My First Ten Years* (1963) – *CAB*

[2] Ichiyô's works, fiction, essays and diaries, cited in this thesis are all included in the revised edition of *Complete Works of Higuchi Ichiyô* [全集 樋口一葉] (1996) edited by Maeda Ai and Noguchi Seki.

[3] For the titles of Ichiyô's works, I add English translation in square brackets after the original Japanese titles transliterated into Roman letters.

[4] I italicise the titles of Ichiyô's stories rather than enclosing them in quotation marks in the text.

[5] For the English translation of Ichiyô's texts, I refer to Robert Lyons Danly's *In the Shade of Spring Leaves* (1981). However, I translate myself sections and texts that are not included in Danly's work.

[6] I translate myself the titles of Japanese books and essays as well as comments by Japanese critics; otherwise, translators are noted in parentheses.

[7] Ichiyô's diaries are not consistent but she titled and bound them. She sometimes separated different kind of writings, such as notes of her feelings on miscellaneous events, from the diaries. When I quote from the diaries, I write the Japanese title and the date, if clarified, as well as the page numbers in parentheses, referring to *Complete Works of Higuchi Ichiyô* (1996).

[8] I follow the Japanese practice that Japanese family names precede first names.

## List of Illustrations

Miles Franklin at the age of twenty-three	1
Higuchi Ichiyô, circa 1895	2
Photographs of women writers and the picture of a bird in the special issue of <i>The Literary Club</i> [文芸倶楽部] in December 1895 in Meiji Japan	77
Photographs of notable beauties and the picture of a bird in <i>The Literary Club</i> , 20 December 1895	78



Miles Franklin at the age of twenty-three (at the time *MBC* was published), Colin Roderick,  
*Miles Franklin: Her Brilliant Career* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1982) 83.



Higuchi Ichiyô, circa 1895, Robert Lyons Danly, *In the Shade of Spring Leaves: The Life and Writings of Higuchi Ichiyô, A Woman of Letters in Meiji Japan* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981).

## Introduction

This thesis will undertake a comparative analysis of some of texts by Miles Franklin (1879-1954) and Higuchi Ichiyô (1872-1896). I will focus on *My Brilliant Career* (1901), *My Career Goes Bung* (1946) and *Childhood at Brindabella* (1963) by Franklin and *Wakarejimo* [Parting in the Frost] (1892), *Yamiyo* [Encounters on a Dark Night] (1894), *Utsusemi* [Empty Days] (1895) and *Warekara* [Destructive Fate] (1896) and the diaries (1912) by Ichiyô. These two women writers played active roles in the literary worlds in their own countries, Australia and Japan. I would like to stress the absence of any connection between these two women writers since my purpose is not to discover any direct or indirect influence; rather, my project is to link them thematically and to explore some commonalities in their writings in relation to the various contexts.

This thesis is an interdisciplinary project that draws on the disciplines and methodologies of comparative literature, feminist literary studies, and comparative literary studies between Australia and Japan. I will examine methodologies of these comparative literary studies later in this chapter and here I want to emphasise feminist methodology as the basis of my analysis of Ichiyô's and Franklin's texts. Feminist literary studies have flourished in both Japan and Australia and I will examine some feminist criticism of their texts in Chapter one, "Literature Review." Watanabe Sumiko, a leading critic of women's literature in Japan, defines modern Japanese women's writing as follows: "Modern women's literature expressed the struggles of a process of self-expression and self-awareness as women examined society, home, and men, and considered their lives in these contexts" [(...) 自己を、女を相対化できるようになっていった過程の苦闘や、(...) 社会を家を男性を眺め、それらとの関わりの中で女の生をみつめた表現が近代女性文学であるといってもいいのではないだろうか。] (*Criticism* 17). Kay Ferres writes about Australian women's writing in her "Introduction" to *The Time to Write: Australian Women Writers 1890-1930* (1993): "There is no single feminine tradition which excludes and distances otherness.



That is a masculine strategy. Modernity offered women new identifications and definitions" (16). These are the configurations of feminist approaches to modern women's literature in Japan and Australia which provide a methodology for my reading of Ichiyô's and Franklin's texts, although "modernity" is not an important concept in this thesis. I am not concerned with these two women writers as "modern" writers, though it is true that "modernity" affected their lives to some extent. My concern is to read their texts from a feminist perspective which both Australian and Japanese feminist critics use to analyse modern women's literature.

The feminist methodology of this thesis is also concerned with an international tradition of women's writing. However, the feminisms of third world, postcolonial or some poststructuralist do not affect my discussions of Franklin's and Ichiyô's texts because these feminisms stress a notion of difference, broadly defined, between women through arguments based in identity politics. By contrast, my reading of their texts will explore commonalities in their writings which transcend such differences as nationalities.

In this thesis, I will be exploring both Ichiyô's and Franklin's use of metaphor in their writings to investigate representations of women and their lives in consideration of the social, cultural and political contexts. My findings will focus on commonalities in their use of metaphor, that is, their rejection of patriarchal ideologies and their attempt to create female voices. I will also briefly describe another significant commonality, their growing awareness of socio-political issues, exemplified in their concern about class relations. Although I do not have enough space to develop this comparison further in this thesis, it is important to recognise that investigating their use of metaphor is not the only way to discover commonalities in their writings.

## The “Ie” System and the Bush Myth

An understanding of Ichiyô’s and Franklin’s historical contexts in their own societies and cultures is fundamental to my argument. The key terms are the “ie” system and the bush myth. The “ie” system, translated as the family system – although “ie” literally means house or home – as a legacy of samurai traditions, was legalised by the Meiji government (1868-1912) in order to control private, individual families under the name of the Emperor. The bush myth was sanctified through the formative years of Australia in the late nineteenth century and it is a dominant locus in which Australian national identity is constructed. Significantly, the positioning of the “ie” system and the bush myth in historical contexts have followed similar processes: they were upgraded from the narrow, specific usage to reach the standing of national identity or cultural ideal.

For a history of the concept of the “ie” and women’s oppression by it, I rely mostly on Ôtake Hideo’s *The History of the “Ie” and Women* [「家」と女性の歴史] (1977) and Ueno Chizuko’s *The Rise and Fall of Modern Family* [近代家族の成立と終焉] (1994). Although Ôtake’s investigation of the “ie” from ancient times is outstanding, I concentrate on the modern era since the Meiji Restoration (1868) when Japan started to open officially to the world and modernisation as Westernisation began.

Both Ôtake and Ueno recognise that the concept of the “ie,” which was oppressive to women, evolved from the samurai class (Ôtake 218-20; Ueno *The Rise* 76). The chief purpose of the concept of the “ie” is household continuity. The saying that “women have no home anywhere” [女は三界に家なし], originating from Confucianism, was the reality for samurai class women in that they were ruled by their fathers before marriage, by their husbands in marriage and by their sons when widowed (Ôtake 222; Ackroyd 56-57). Another saying, “borrowed womb” [腹は借り物], used since the Edo Period (1600-1868), suggests women’s social function: women, not belonging to the blood line, existed only to produce (male) heirs to families into which they married. Joyce Ackroyd points out that a

woman was “a human incubator” whether she was a wife or a concubine (61-62). Thus, the samurai class women were never free from the “ie.”

The early years of Meiji were a period of confusion between traditional ideas and modern Western ideas, between the “ie” principle and individualism, and between samurai customs and common customs (Ôtake 274). Ichiyô was born and lived in this confusion. The Meiji Civil Code was enforced in July 1898, almost two years after her death in November 1896. Until then, customary laws, though changeable depending on the times, were practiced on inheritance, marriage, family relations and so on (Takada 132-33). The early Meiji women such as Ichiyô enjoyed relatively higher status amid Westernisation and the attendant confusion than women under the Meiji Civil Code (Iwami et al. 163).

The most important law relating to the “ie” system is the establishment of family registers with the head of the family as the legal competent in 1871 (Ôtake 239). Significantly, women had been allowed to be the head of the family; however, the reality was that women’s succession was considered only under unavoidable circumstances, that is, when there was no male heir. A woman heir was expected to retire from the position as soon as she married or the family adopted a son. This concept was institutionalised in the Meiji Civil Code (1898) which regarded the woman heir as “irregular” [変則] (Ôtake 290) and legally demanded wives’ submission to their husbands (290).

Ichiyô’s life was obviously affected by these laws and ideologies of Meiji. Although she was born at the end of the feudal era, it is not wrong to say that she was, to some extent, a samurai class woman as her father obtained the status of samurai just before the Meiji Restoration (1868). Critics such as Shioda Ryôhei, the founder of the modern Ichiyô criticism, contend that her father’s adherence to samurai status might have formed Ichiyô’s attitude towards chastity as the daughter of a samurai (16). More pertinently, Ichiyô became the heir, or the head of the Higuchi household, in 1888 when she was sixteen after the death of her eldest brother, Sentarô, who had previously become the heir in 1883. Takada Chinami, in his discussion of Ichiyô’s status as the family head in the light of the

then changeable laws and its relation to her last work, *Warekara*, contends that at the time she became heir, there was a tendency to acknowledge female heirs as less exceptional. Therefore, Takada claims, it might not have been so unnatural for Ichiyô to replace Sentarô in spite of the alternative that her father could have returned to the headship (132-37). In this way, Ichiyô and her life can be characterised by Meiji and its social and political contexts.

For my discussion of the bush myth, I refer mainly to *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* (1991) for its general and historical background and *Women and the Bush* (1988) by Kay Schaffer for its feminist revaluation. The “bush” was used in Australia, by the 1820s, to refer to “the unsettled areas of the Colony” (129). The bush was the object that men “disliked and feared” (130) but, at the same time, they praised for its majesty and naturalness. The bush, therefore, often appeared in the narratives of early settlement (Wilde et al. 129-30).

It was the 1890s when the bush became a more substantial concept and the phrase was often capitalised. The literary journal, *Bulletin*, or “The Bushman’s Bible” (131), with Henry Lawson as its representative crusader, and the rise of nationalism contributed to enhancing “The Bush” as “a major shaping instrument of the Australian national spirit and outlook” (130). Along with this, a bushman stereotype, rugged, versatile, cheerful, laconic, philosophical etc, took shape, which was later reinforced by studies such as Vance Palmer’s *Legend of the Nineties* (1954) and Russel Ward’s *The Australian Legend* (1958). However, Graeme Davison, in his article, “Sydney and the Bush: An Urban Context for the Australian Legend” (1978), has revealed that the bush myth is an urban myth constructed by urban writers.

Miles Franklin also uses the bushman stereotype in some of her fictional works: the most famous is perhaps Danny Delacy in the award-winning *All That Swagger* (1936) (Wilde et al. 130-31). Franklin’s major works, *MBC*, one of the central works in this thesis, and the Brent of Bin Bin novels, are supreme examples of her worship of the bush and

Australian pioneering life. She also strongly articulates her love for the bush and mystifies it in *Laughter Not for a Cage* (1956): “The bush was various and widespread and virgin. The bush was the Australian’s refuge, regeneration, kingdom, glory and grave” (106). Therefore, Franklin has been often identified with Lawson, Joseph Furphy and others as a distinctively Australian writer.

Kay Schaffer, rejecting the “general” views and attitudes that have been historically predominant about the bush myth and “bushman” stereotype, attempts to dismantle a complex web of meanings embedded in discourses on national identity around the bush myth. Her approach is postmodern and feminist. In the first place, she refers to Lacanian psychoanalysis to demonstrate that national identity is an imaginary and constructed in a particular culture and society through the symbolic order of language (8-11). Another important element in her arguments is Michel Foucault’s notion of “discourse:” she traces “the Australian tradition as a discourse” – “a corporate body of historical, literary and cultural texts and materials which make statements about the nature of the Australian character” (15).

As Schaffer writes, “Identity is established through a system of differences” (12), Australian national identity defines the dichotomy of the self and other: women, Aborigines and non-white immigrants are seen as other in relation to the self, that is, male, white, Anglo-Irish and heterosexual (12-13). Although women, as not-men, rarely appear in historical accounts of the settlement, woman as a metaphor often appears in the representations of landscapes. The Australian land is metaphorically a female body; the meanings attached to it are never simplistic and secure, however. These are the views of those for whom the bush is a locus of desire (61). Schaffer argues:

Within the Australian imaginary the bush is the site of otherness through which a precarious masculine identity is established and maintained. The bush is signified as both ‘no place for a woman’ and the place of Woman. (102)

Schaffer also discusses the 1890s – known as “the time when Australia produced a body of

literature which could be identified as indigenous rather than derivative, with the bushman as the central presence who viewed his country from inside" (39) and Henry Lawson as "founding father." She argues the importance of how Lawson's texts and his personality have been constructed and valorized by later critics who elevated him to the dominant figure of the Australian national literature as "the voice of the Bush" (28-51).

Richard White argues, in *Inventing Australia* (1981), that national identity is an invention, though Schaffer criticises White's ignorance of gender issues. White writes in his introduction:

Firstly, national identities are invented within a framework of modern Western ideas about science, nature, race, society, nationality. Not only is the very idea of national identity a product of European history at a particular time, but each addition to the Australian identity has reflected changing intellectual needs and fashions in the West. [. . .] The national identity is not 'Born of the lean loins of the country itself', as one ardent nationalist put it, but is part of the 'cultural baggage' which Europeans have brought with them, and with which we continue to encumber ourselves. [. . .] National identities emerge to serve a social function. While the intelligentsia create the images, they do not work in a vacuum. The most influential images are those which serve the interests of a broader ruling class, on whose patronage the intelligentsia rely. (ix)

The bush myth was thus a tool to inscribe this "invention" by male-dominated criticism and discourse which was mobilised most strongly, perhaps, in the 1890s. White sneers at "[t]he most ludicrous expedition" (98): "four self-styled bohemians," members of the bohemian club, the Dawn and Dusk Club in Sydney, who went travelling in the bush. Referring to the nostalgic account, *Those Were the Days*, by George Taylor, one of the four bohemians, White finds that their obsession with "local colour" is "self-conscious" and "artificial" (99). He also points out that their bohemianism resembles some characteristics of bushmen which, he argues, is "based on a rejection of dominant

British cultural values” (100).

The Japanese “ie” system, as a cultural and social order, can also be seen as the product of a particular period of time serving a particular group of people. Ueno Chizuko asserts that the “ie” system was an invention of the Meiji government (*The Rise* 69, 129). She points out that filial piety and loyalty to the nation, both Confucian tenets, were strategically aligned: being dutiful to the head of the family was regarded as having the same importance as being loyal to the Emperor. Although these two virtues were different in Confucianism, the Meiji government conflated them to intensify “the family-state ideology” [国家主義] in opposition to Western individualism (70-74). Ueno sums up her argument that the “ie” was an invented tradition:

When the social structure changes, the new system selects congruous items from the existing culture. Then, the old items are placed within the new context. The “ie” system was thus selected out of the traditional cultural matrix. Although, considering that, the “ie” system can be called Japan’s “cultural tradition” or “the remnant of feudalism,” I emphasise that this is the “cultural tradition” of the samurai class. When a certain cultural item is adopted, a “historical identity” is added later as if this item had been eternally a “tradition.” As to establishing the concept of the “ie” system, however, the fluctuation in the process of establishing this concept shows that there were, actually, other choices. [社会構造が変動するとき、新しいシステムは既存の文化項目の中から適合的な項を選び出す。その時、古い項目は新しいコンテキストに置かれる。「家」制度はそうにして伝統的な文化的マトリックスの中から選ばれた。その限りで「家」は日本の「文化伝統」「封建遺制」だと呼んでもよいが、それはあくまで武家の「文化伝統」にすぎない。ある文化項目が採用されると、それはあたかも万古不易の「伝統」であったかのように「歴史的アイデンティティ」があとからつけ加えられるが、「家」の観念の成立にあたっては、実は他にも選択肢があったことは、その成立のプロセスのゆらぎからもわかる。] (130-31)

Ochiai Emiko, on the other hand, openly disagrees with Ueno's claim that "commoners had nothing to do with the *ie* before Meiji" (qtd in Ochiai 111). Ochiai argues on "empirical evidence about peasant life in Tokugawa period" that commoners also adopted and followed the "ie" system before Meiji and notes the "diversity by region and class that existed in Tokugawa Japan regarding family life" (111). She considers, therefore, that "the Meiji Civil Code did not so much invent the *ie* as standardize it" (111-12). What Japan invented in the Meiji Period, Ochiai argues, was its national identity through the "ie" in opposition to the overwhelming influx of Western ideas.

In the tide of modernization and westernization following the Meiji

Restoration, the Japanese adopted various aspects of Western culture.

However, at the same time, they desperately needed something untouched as a symbol of Japanese culture. This desire was a modern invention, because national identity itself was a creation of the modern state. The Japanese in the Meiji era chose their familial institution as their cultural symbol. (106)

However, both Ueno and Ochiai agree that the "ie" was established as Japan's cultural symbol and national identity in the Meiji Period.

There is a striking analogy, therefore, between the "ie" system and the bush myth in their historical functions and significance as they became elevated to national traditions. I suggest that a comparison between Ichiyô and Franklin becomes more meaningful considering that they both lived under these ideologies. These two ideologies obviously share an essential quality, that is, the exclusion of women. The "bushman" as the national character cannot be a woman. Woman was always the suppressed other, identified with the landscape, to be conquered and possessed. The bush is "'no place for a woman' and the place of Woman" (Schaffer 102). The "ie" system does not willingly admit a woman as heir: the role of the female heir is only an appendage to the continuity of the masculine "ie" based on the feudalistic samurai values. These ideologies in general dominated the intelligentsia, by which both Franklin and Ichiyô were influenced in their own situations.



The bush myth has been deconstructed by such feminist critics as Shirley Walker, who focuses on “a female tradition” (“The Deconstruction” 77); that is, Walker draws attention to women’s participation in and experience of hardships in the bush. Based on Graeme Davison’s discussion of the bush as an urban myth and cultural construction, Walker examines short stories by women writers, including Barbara Baynton’s *Bush Studies* (1902). She argues that the bush in these women’s writings

is seen as a place devoid of human integrity, the scene of cruelty and humiliation for its female inhabitants. ‘Mateship’ is unknown, and Lawson’s sun-burnt bush-men, sympathetic humorists and poets with big hearts are curiously absent. (77)

Although this feminist deconstructive approach is certainly pertinent, in part, to Franklin’s depiction of the bush, a more positive female tradition of the bush, with women at its centre, is important in this thesis. Feminist critics, such as Susan Gardner, Susan Martin and Helen Thomson, have reconsidered the relationship between Franklin, *MBC* and the bush. For example, Martin writes: “Nineteenth-century women’s fiction consistently portrayed a friendly and inviting landscape contiguous with the woman who occupied it [ . . . ]” (70). This is a “female tradition” of the bush identified as part of the landscape which is friendly to women. This female tradition is able to liberate Franklin and *MBC* from the dominant masculine realist tradition. Instead, Franklin’s writing can, thus, be identified with other national and international women writers. Franklin, these critics argue, can be located with other Australian colonial women by sharing their familiarisation and feminisation of the landscape. I will examine this female tradition in Chapter three.

Ichiyô’s position under the “ie” system has also been reconsidered. Ichiyô has often been described as “ill-fated” [薄倖] because of her obligation as head of a family sunk in poverty but this “obligation” can also be seen as her “privilege” at the same time. Takada Chinami has analysed Ichiyô’s status as family head in the context of the growing trend

toward female heirs before the Meiji Civil Code was established in 1898. He argues that when Ichiyô was head from 1888 to 1896, restrictions on female heirs were “relatively” relaxed (136). Seki Reiko develops this idea and considers Ichiyô’s being family head and professional writer as “privileges” that other young women were not allowed at that time (*Sister’s* 1-8).

### **Intertextuality**

Another important issue pertinent to my comparative study of Ichiyô and Franklin is the relationship between the discourses of autobiographical writing, namely Franklin’s *CAB* and Ichiyô’s diaries, and their fictional writing. The concept of intertextuality was first defined by the French theorist, Julia Kristeva in her 1966-67 lectures in Paris and later included in her *Desire in Language* (1980). The most precise definition is that a literary text is always related to other text(s). In her investigation of the Russian theorist, Mikhail Bakhtin, Kristeva follows his project of “translinguistics,” that is “a method of analysis that allows her to confront the literary work on the formal and the social levels simultaneously” (Clayton and Rothstein 18). Intertextuality “involve[s] the components of a *textual system*” and is defined “as the transposition of one or more *systems* of signs into another, accompanied by a new articulation of the enunciative and denotative position” (Kristeva 15). This definition of intertextuality will be particularly germane, in Chapter two, to my discussion of bird/s as a metaphor in Ichiyô’s writing in relation to the contemporary Japanese cultural and literary contexts. Another significance about intertextuality is the reader-centredness as distinct from author-orientation of “influence” criticism. A text only signifies the process, in which the reader can play an active part, rather than the author’s product. This notion developed from the “death of the author,” argued by Roland Barthes in his “The Death of the Author.” Therefore, intertextuality has

become an important method of analysis in various fields where “the interpretation is the fundamental task of criticism” (Barnouw et al. 351).

In addition to using intertextuality to link the fictional and autobiographical writings of Ichiyô and Franklin, thus, I can also use it to overturn the imperialistic “influence” criticism. Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein, in their introductory chapter of *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History* (1991), present genealogies of these two terms.

“Intertextuality” has replaced “influence” because of its egalitarian nature and its capacity to cope with new discoveries and concepts. They argue that “influence” criticism as a “comparativist method” originated in nineteenth century historicism and that deciding which literature influenced which became a form of “crude cultural imperialism” (5). The “normative force of influence studies” has weakened because of its problematic positioning of the author as agent, in other words, because it accords more literary merit to the original text than the “unoriginal” text, i.e. the “influenced” text (12-13).

Despite the decline of influence criticism in general, some feminists have reassessed it. “[T]he idea of another tradition, in which women influence women,” has been important for such feminist critics as Elaine Showalter in *A Literature of Their Own* (1977) and Susan Gubar and Sandra Gilbert in *The Madwoman in the Attic* (1979). However, other feminists have also reconsidered the concept of intertextuality; it “becomes an activity, one centered in an embodied and gendered agent, not a shifting field of references” (Clayton and Rothstein 29). Rather than attempting to discover the suppressed network of influence, I wish to rely on intertextuality “in strategic terms, as part of the struggle to make a place for women in a male literary history” (31) and, accordingly, to enrich my comparison of Ichiyô’s and Franklin’s texts.

In addition, since intertextuality transcends the difference in discourse between autobiographical and fictional writing, the boundary of these two modes of writing itself becomes unclear in the cases of Ichiyô’s and Franklin’s writing. Shioda and Wada regard Ichiyô’s diaries as “the origin of confessional novel” [私小説の源流] (Wada 55) and

sometimes as the best of all her writings. Shioda says:

There is sometimes more merit in Ichiyô's diaries than in her fiction. It is because she always found narratives and poetry in her life when she was writing the diaries. And she made herself the protagonist of these narratives. Since there is a sense of reality in them, although she was probably exaggerating some emotions and descriptions, her diaries are as aesthetic as a piece of literature. [一葉の日記にはその文学性において作品以上の価値のあるものがあるが、それは彼女が日記を書きつつたえず生活の中に物語や詩を見出しているからである。だから自らを物語の主人公化し、感情にも描写態度にも恐らく誇張はあろうけど、実感が流れているために、一つの文学作品を形成するほど具象的に書かれているのである。] (145)

Although I will not consider the comparative literary merits of the diaries and the fiction, I partly agree with Shioda when he says that Ichiyô narrativises incidents in the diaries in which she herself is the protagonist. The diaries are not only records of her life but also contain accounts in which she distanced herself from her life. They also played the role of a journal: she wrote about the news from newspapers and about miscellaneous events that later appeared in her fictional writing.

Likewise, I regard Franklin's *CAB* as resembling fiction since she uses false names for the real places and real people. *CAB* is not very different from *MBC* and *MCGB* in terms of autobiography; the latter is, according to Franklin herself, "equally autobiographical as my first printed romance; no more, no less" (*MCGB* 8). The traditional separation between fictional writing and autobiographical writing thus becomes obscure and allows a contiguous reading.

## Metaphor

Chapters two and three will investigate metaphor embedded in the texts and the social, cultural and literary contexts of the metaphor. An investigation of metaphor can be effective in feminist discourse, as Sharon Janusz, in her essay, "Feminism and Metaphor: Friend, Foe, Force?" (1994), asserts: "[M]etaphor is inherently subversive in a patriarchal, phallocratic system, and as such it can be used by feminists as a most powerful tool" (289). Janusz points out Aristotle's and Locke's judgement of metaphors as ornamental, deceitful and artificial. These are "the very same words that were used to describe women" (292) and this notion obtains today.

In her examination of poetry by Adrienne Rich and Audre Lorde, Janusz posits that their renaming of themselves and the world is "a strategy by which the established definitions of self and world [sic], and self in relation to the world, are challenged and ultimately refused" (294). She further argues that metaphor, together with the power of poetry and language, can subvert and change phallocratic reality. Last, she encourages feminists to "feel confident in the knowledge that the authority of logic is not necessary for speaking to have force" (299). I shall also look into metaphor as the "force" by which Ichiyô and Franklin may attempt to "subvert" the phallocratic order of convention and discourse.

Chapter two focuses on bird imagery in Franklin's *MBC*, *MCGB* and *CAB* and Ichiyô's *Wakarejimo* [Parting in the Frost] and her diaries. I will identify these images carefully and then show that images of birds can carry significant meanings, intertextually, regarding the positioning of the women characters. Few critics discuss bird imagery in Franklin's texts except in passing references (Docker "Antipodean Literature" 53, *Critical Condition* 139). I will argue that bird imagery in *MBC*, *MCGB* and *CAB*, links these three texts and reveals Franklin's feminist themes in her depiction of the Australian natural world. Susan Gardner in "*My Brilliant Career*: Portrait of the Artist as a Wild Colonial

Girl” (1985) provides her analysis of Franklin’s bird imagery in *MBC*, which is pertinent to my argument. Gardner links Franklin’s bird imagery to that of other women writers discussed in Ellen Moer’s *Literary Women* (1976). In the same way, I extend this link to Ichiyô.

There are many traditional and non-traditional uses of bird imagery in Ichiyô’s writings. Her traditional uses include allusion to classical poetry, her own poetry and descriptions of scenery and seasons. However, I will focus on her non-traditional uses of bird/s, i.e. as a metaphor for women, which appear only in her diaries and the story, *Wakarejimo* [Parting in the Frost]. Importantly, *Wakarejimo* includes the “caged bird” metaphor, which is a metaphor for women in confinement, common in various cultures, including Australian. In Ichiyô’s diaries, I will look at a specific record that has aroused controversy among critics. However, rather than depending on what they have debated about Ichiyô’s sexuality, I wish to read the original text closely. I will then look at some literary, cultural and historical uses of bird imagery as intertexts with Ichiyô’s texts. Then, bird/s as a metaphor becomes a “component” which transposes in these textual systems, revealing a complex network of women’s suppressed sexuality. Murakami Nobuhiko’s thorough research of women in Meiji and work by Rebecca Copeland and Seki Reiko will provide the bases and contexts for my argument.

I will look at images of gardens in Chapter three. I will again read *MBC* and *CAB*, as they are thematic companions, in which descriptions of gardens often include landscape, orchards and flowers. My focus of attention in this chapter is romance in these two texts, often neglected or dismissed by traditional male critics, represented by Henry Lawson, who praised only Franklin’s realism. On the other hand, critics such as John Docker and Susan Gardner acknowledge romance as the core and the power of Sybylla’s narrative. In *MBC*, I will investigate this romance, in which Sybylla’s language forms a powerful discourse and her “potential” (Gardner 41) for emotional and sensual development is suggested. I will consider this female power as originating from Sybylla’s and Franklin’s

relationship to landscape and argue that this spontaneous relationship to landscape is the significant element of the traditions of the nineteenth-century Australian women writers and women colonists. We will see that the gardens in *CAB* can be identified with the power of colonial women which inspired Franklin.

Garden representations in Ichiyô's writings consist of two types. She alludes to gardens in such classical stories as *The Tale of Genji* [源氏物語]. The garden is also an artistic place where Ichiyô nurtured a poetical sense of nature represented in her essays. However, I will investigate her non-traditional representations of the garden, which appear only in her diaries, *Utsusemi* [Empty Days], *Yamiyo* [Encounters on a Dark Night] and *Warekara* [Destructive Fate]. According to particular passages in her diaries, the garden is important to the Higuchi women. Their desire for a garden is related to their class-consciousness. However, the garden seems to function differently in her fictional works. I will argue that focusing on the garden representations will enable me to find common themes of female confinement and female struggle for power against men in these texts.

### **Socio-Political Issues in the Lives and Writings of Franklin and Ichiyô**

Franklin's and Ichiyô's experience of growing awareness of socio-political issues in their lives and writings is another significant commonality. The hardships of a life in poverty made them aware of the class relations in their societies. I will briefly portray this striking commonality although I do not have enough space to develop this in the subsequent chapters.

Both Sybyllas in *MBC* and *MCGB*, articulate their disapproval of the power structure of society. In *MBC*, Sybylla sympathises with tramps and questions the current legal system which overlooks the gap between the rich and the poor:

Our legislators are unable or unwilling to cope with it. They trouble not to be patriots and statesmen. [. . .] Why can [Australia] not bear sons, men! of soul, mind, truth, godliness, and patriotism sufficient to rise and cast off the grim shackles which widen round us day by day? (86)

Nobody at Caddagat agrees with Sybylla and she herself forgets this trouble as Caddagat is a paradise for her. However, Possum Gully, the place of poverty, is where she returns and where the story ends. In the final chapter she sympathises with the poor and hardworking Australian men and women.

I am proud that I am an Australian, a daughter of the Southern Cross, a child of the mighty bush. I am thankful I am a peasant, a part of the bone and muscle of my nation, and earn my bread by the sweat of my brow, as man was meant to do. I rejoice I was not born a parasite, one of the blood-suckers who loll on velvet and satin, crushed from the proceeds of human sweat and blood and souls. (231)

Sybylla pities the tramps in Caddagat but, in the end, identifying with peasants, she protests against “the blood-suckers.”

In *MCGB*, Sybylla takes up socio-political issues more frequently and articulately. She recognises: “Poverty can make pioneering a sorry job. In any case it has always been heavier on women than on men” (49). This perception is confirmed when she is in Sydney at the home of Mrs Crasterton who blames “‘the growing insolence of the lower classes’ on the unhealthy growth of the Labor Party, which she averred would be the ruin of the new Commonwealth” (117). Mrs Crasterton reproves Sybylla’s refusal of the wine that Sir Jimmy offers because Sybylla feels sorry for her parents who do not drink wine because of their poverty. Mrs Crasterton describes this attitude of Sybylla as a “taint of socialism” (138).

Ichiyô’s tendency to socialist issues, especially in her later years, has been acknowledged by critics, such as Ikari Akira in “Ichiyô and Socialist Ideas” [一葉と社会主



義思想] (1986). According to Ikari, Shitaya, where Ichiyô and her family ran the business for nine months in 1893-94, was one of the poorest districts in Tokyo at that time. Ikari discovers in Ichiyô's diaries that she was interested in "relieving the poor" [貧民救助]: she discussed this with a policeman called Tanabe, at least once, on 25 October 1893 (11). In fact, her famous works, such as *Takekurabe* [Growing Up] (1895) and *Nigorie* [Troubled Waters] (1895), feature lower class people and her writing shows that she is sympathetic to them. Moreover, there is evidence that Yokoyama Gennosuke, who was a reporter of the lower class society in Meiji, visited Ichiyô (Iwami et al. 311-12, 346-47). Furthermore, one of the letters from Kusaka Yoshitaka suggests that he and Ichiyô planned charities for the poor (Ikari 12-13).

Ichiyô's and Sybylla's political tendency is nurtured by their struggles with poverty. They learn the same lesson: people and society are merciless to the poor. Entering a new world of paupers and shopkeepers, Ichiyô reflected on 25 July 1893, on the old adage: "[A] person doesn't know who his friends are until he's in trouble" [「落ぶれてそでに涙のかかるとき人の心の奥ぞしらるる」] (3: 204 *Chiri no naka* [塵之中]; Danly 92). In the same way, Sybylla knows how people will react towards Harold's misfortune as she herself experienced betrayal of good human nature (151).

When Ichiyô and Sybylla become aware of the power structure of their societies and the injustice caused by it, they recognise their positions as women. Ichiyô was frustrated by the realisation that her incapacity to fight against the unfairness of society was based on her belonging to the "inferior" sex.

In the middle of the night, when I lie awake and think about the times, I wonder what is to become of the world. I am only a woman, of course. I can just hear what others would say: "Who is she to worry about these large matters? Like an ant or a worm holding forth? The wretch doesn't even understand herself – how can she expound on the state of the nation?" [. . .]  
Let people say I'm imagining things, let later generations laugh at me if they

want. When I was born into these troubled times, am I to make no attempt to correct them? If we search hard enough for the way we shall find it. I only regret I had to enter this world as a woman. [半夜眼をとちて静かに当世の有さまをおもへば、あはれいかさまに成りていかさまに成らんとすらん。かひなき女子の何事をおもひたりとも、猶蟻みみずの天を論ずるにもにて、「我れをしらざるの甚し」と、人しらばいはんなれど、さてもおなじ天をいただけば、風雨、雷電、いづれか身の上にかからざらんや。 (...) いでよしや、物好きの名にたちて、のちの人のあざけりをうくるとも、かかる世にうまれ合せたる身の、する事なしに終らむやは。なすべき道を尋ねて、なすべき道を行はんのみ。さても恥かしきは女子の身なれど (...)]

(3: 225 *Chiri no naka nikki* [塵中日記] 2 Dec. 1893; Danly 108-09)

Then Ichiyô wrote a tanka poem which reads: “When strong winds blow / Across the autumn plain, / Even the valerians / Are not safe / From the tempest” [吹かへす秋のの風にをみなへし / ひとりはおれぬのべにぞ有ける] (225; Danly 109). Ichiyô identifies herself with “the valerians” (*ominaeshi*) which she also uses as a symbol for the heroine in *Yamiyo*, Oran. Oran also protests against corrupt politics and society’s unfairness to women.

Ichiyô also reflects on the loneliness of her position as a woman writer in a masculine world.

Finding myself in this literary world, I cannot find anyone whom I can call my friend among the people whom I see day in day out. And as there is no one who really knows me, I feel as if I were born all alone in this world. I am a woman. Even though I have a resolution, I wonder if there is something I can do in this world. [かかる界に身を置きて、あけくれに見る人の一人も友といへるもなく、我れをしるもの空しきをおもへば、あやしう一人この世に生れし心地ぞする。我れは女なり。いかにおもへることありとも、そは世に行ふべき事か、あらぬか。] (3: 302 *Mizu no ue* [みづの上] 20 Feb. 1896)

In *MBC*, Sybylla recognises her position as a woman. She writes at the end of her

narrative:

I love you, I love you. Bravely you jog along with the rope of class distinction drawing closer, closer, tighter, tighter around you: a few more generations and you will be as enslaved as were ever the moujiks of Russia. I see it and know it, but I cannot help you. My ineffective life will be trod out in the same round of toil, – I am only one of yourselves, I am only an unnecessary, little, bush commoner, I am only a – woman! (232)

Despite the complex circumstances behind the publication of *MCGB* as the sequel to *MBC*, I emphasise that Sybylla's awareness of feminist issues and class relations is more articulate in *MCGB*. Moreover, it is significant that Franklin herself developed these issues in her career as a journalist and writer in America. Franklin's commitment to *Life and Labor*, the journal of the National Women's Trade Union League of America, is explored by Drusilla Modjeska in her *Exiles at Home* (1983). The journal was concerned about the welfare of working women. Modjeska investigates the journal's feminism and "its relationship to liberal and social democratic politics" (159), which influenced Franklin.

In their own lives and situations, Ichiyô and Franklin had similar experiences which are expressed in their writings, whether fictional or autobiographical. Thus, their growing awareness of socio-political issues and class relations in their lives and writings is a significant commonality, which will require a more intensive study.

### **Comparative Literature Studies**

The methodology of this thesis requires some acknowledgement of the tradition of comparative literature, the combination of comparative literature and gender studies, and the significance of Japanese literary studies in Australia. According to the Bernheimer Report submitted to the American Comparative Literature Association in 1993,

comparative literature as a literary field should be renewed in order to meet various “ways of contextualizing literature in the expanded fields of discourse, culture, ideology, race, and gender” (42). The Report criticises the traditional attitudes of comparative literature, such as the elitist Euro-centredness and the control of interdisciplinary programs (40). The aim of the Report is to “[put] forward some guiding ideas about the way curricula can be structured in order to expand students’ perspectives and stimulate them to think in culturally pluralistic terms” (47).

The fusion of comparative studies and gender studies in literature is a developing and significant area. Margaret R. Higonnet plays an active role in weaving the two fields together with the new multicultural theories. She has edited *Borderwork: Feminist Engagements with Comparative Literature* (1994) in which contributors explore “the space of the hyphen in comparative-feminist, while acknowledging the contested identities of both modes” (“Edge” 155). Higonnet regards borders as “contact zones” rather than “static lines of demarcation, margins, or impermeable walls” (*Borderwork* 2). Importantly, she criticises the West-centredness of both comparative literature and feminist criticism in that “[a] purist ‘nativism’” (14) geographically and politically differentiates the Western and non-Western. She asserts that *Borderwork* “works to utilize feminist insights in order to nuance comparative practice and, conversely, to nuance and render more comparative the practice of feminist criticism” (14).

In her essay, “Comparative Literature on the Feminist Edge” (1995), Higonnet again calls for the meeting of comparatists and feminists:

Gender, feminist critics point out, is one of the categories that organize literary production and reception. This social variable draws lines within literary institutions; it encodes voices as masculine or feminine and separates generic spheres such as the male and female bildungsroman or diverging currents within modernism. At the same time, like racial or class demarcations, gender divisions cross national boundaries and assume new definition and value in

each culture. Gender studies, in short, should be comparative. (155)

Considering this thesis also as “borderwork,” I will juxtapose different voices from Australia and Japan in order to transcend the national boundaries.

However, unfortunately, comparative literature between Australian and Japanese texts is not popular and, in fact, Japanese literature itself in Australian universities is becoming less common. Alison Tokita in “The Place of Literature in Japanese Studies Today” (1994) discusses factors in the decline of popularity of literature in Japanese studies, such as the emergence of other disciplines after the Second World War and less significance on reading and writing skills in the language program. Based on her survey of some Australian universities, nevertheless, Tokita asserts that “literature in Japanese Studies programmes is far from extinct” (4). One of the possible problems of the inclusion of literature in Japanese studies, she argues, is that students’ appreciation of texts as literature per se would be reduced to “a naive reading” (4), if taught by non-specialists, due to the lack of “the application of literary theory” (4). Then she argues that “people from Japanese departments will have little to contribute to the new cultural studies or comparative literature departments” (4).

Leith Morton’s article, “Japanese Studies in the Humanities in Australia, 1980-1994” (1994), proves that research on Japanese literature in Australia has been significant, though his article also deals with studies in Japanese history, belle-lettres and language. Morton makes some important general observations regarding his overview of these fields in Japanese studies. For example, scholarly research is not developed throughout the country but has been confined to certain universities. He claims a lack of “an indigenous approach to Japanese studies, drawing from the overall theoretical or conceptual orientations prevailing intellectual circles in Australia” (13). He also claims that “comparative studies that focus on Australia and Japan in the humanities area other than history, at least, are rather rare” (14). However, he concludes his article by suggesting “great scope for the comparative approach” (14) as interests in and publications of

“indigenous” studies of the various Australian fields, including literature, increase.

Muta Orie in “Studies of Japanese Literature in Australia” (1996) focuses on “the significance of research and its contribution to the study of Japanese literature in English-speaking countries” (226). She lists publications on Japanese literature in Australia from 1989 to 1996 that emanate from “the relatively small number of specialists in the field” (226) and discusses these publications briefly. According to the list and her brief descriptions, diverse genres of Japanese literature, from classical to contemporary, have been researched in Australia and gender studies have been also significant in studies of Japanese literature. In addition, Muta emphasises the significance of translation of literary works in the teaching and learning of the language, saying that a legitimate position of translation in academia will “help research monographs reach out to a wider readership beyond academic circles, and eventually contribute to the understanding of Japanese literature and culture in English-speaking countries” (231). Finally, she raises the issue that the study of Japanese literature in Australia itself is at stake and concludes that studying literature overall has been a declining trend in Australian universities and Japanese literature has become less popular (231).

The articles by Tokita, Morton and Muta illustrate that studies of Japanese literature, ranging from classical to contemporary, have been significant in the Australian academia. However, it is also evident, according to their discussions, that studies of Japanese literature in Australia are not always widely acknowledged and confront problems such as the declining trend of literature among university students. Keeping their appeals in mind, I hope this thesis will be regarded as a positive contribution to the field of comparative studies between Australia and Japan of women’s literature.

Here, I would like to draw attention to another possible aspect of comparison between Japan and Australia in terms of the theory of Orientalism, although this theory does not affect my comparison of Ichiyô’s and Franklin’s texts here. An article, “Looking the Same? A Preliminary (Post-Colonial) Discussion of Orientalism and Occidentalism in

Australia and Japan” (1993) by Leigh Dale and Helen Gilbert provides an example of analyses of literary representations of Japan and Australia in the light of Orientalism. Questioning Edward Said’s famous theory of Orientalism “as a monolithic discourse which permits no space for subversion, evasion or contestation” (35), Dale and Gilbert examine “literary representations of the racial/sexual Other in Australia and Japan” (35). In their discussion of Mishima Yukio’s *The Confessions of a Mask* and *Shimada*, a play by Jill Shearer, they apply postcolonialism to “[analyse] the structures of racism, fear and desire” (36) and eventually to “[posit] a speaking space for the Other, a genuinely radical concept of society as inevitable hybrid and multi-discursive” (47). Their discussion is intriguing for their demonstration of the inappropriateness of Said’s Orientalism to their case of Japan and Australia. However, I want to stress that my investigation and comparison of literary representations of women and their lives through metaphor in Ichiyô’s and Franklin’s texts does not involve the theory of Orientalism which differentiates the two individuals and nations as the Orient and the Occident. Instead, my concern is to link these two women writers through the investigation of those representations and explore their commonalities which will be eventually considered as a form of international tradition of women’s writing.

It is also pertinent to draw attention to the issue of translation that is an integral part of comparative literary studies between the two nations. It is important to note that Franklin’s *MBC* is available translated into Japanese as *Waga Seishun no Kagayaki* [わが青春の輝き] (1981) by Inoue Akiko while many of Ichiyô’s fiction and some sections of her diaries are translated by Robert Lyons Danly in his biography of Ichiyô published in 1981. However, in this thesis, although I refer to the English translations of Ichiyô’s texts by Danly and myself, I quote in both English and Japanese not only to reflect cultural distinctiveness but also to respect the original texts.

There are some advantages in dealing with the original texts rather than the translations. Translation often reflects canonical restriction and trends of the time; for

example, only *MBC* is translated into Japanese, presumably influenced by the success of the film version and many of Ichiyô's translated works were written in her later years and those works are usually acknowledged by critics as her best works. Moreover, a translated text must convey the translator's interpretation and is reshaped in a different cultural context. By contrast, respecting the original texts enables me to access all of the texts written by Ichiyô and Franklin regardless of canonical restriction and to ignore the reshaping of the original text by the translator.

This thesis, as a comparative literary study, is not unique in dealing with the original texts. However, it may be unique considering that comparing Franklin's works with non-English texts has been scarce and that scholars who compare Ichiyô's works with those of women writers of other countries are not always bilingual. Nevertheless, my reading of their respective texts are closely tied to the traditions of Japanese and Australian literatures, allowing me to access diverse criticisms. Reading Ichiyô's and Franklin's original texts for their comparison, this thesis will be able to provide different and new insights from dealing with translation.

There is an important shared aspect of the methodologies applied in this thesis, that is, overturning notions of difference. Most importantly, my feminist methodology does not separate Franklin and Ichiyô but links them by exploring commonalities in their writings. As the Bernheimer Report and Margaret Higonnet warn us, my methodology of comparative literary and gender studies rejects Eurocentrism just as the theory of intertextuality is different from "influence" criticism that is implicitly based upon the cultural imperialism. Further, the differentiation of Japan and Australia as the Orient and the Occident does not have to do with my comparison of Ichiyô's and Franklin's texts. At the same time, respecting the original texts legitimates my reading of them in their respective national and traditional contexts and consequently makes their comparison



original.

Thus, interdisciplinarity allows me to compare some texts by Franklin and Ichiyô equally in a strict sense. Given the “common” cultural situations under the bush myth and the “ie” system which marginalise women, then, exploring commonalities in their writings is both meaningful and enlightening.

## Chapter 1: Literature Review

In this chapter, I will review the critical literature on Ichiyô and Franklin, their lives and works in relation to their literary and social contexts. I will start with an overview of the critical reception of Ichiyô and Franklin, paying particular attention to contemporary criticism. After examining their biographies briefly, I will trace some feminist approaches to their works. These feminist approaches in Japan and Australia are similar since they try to liberate Ichiyô and Franklin from male-dominated literary and critical canons. Such critics have reread both the lives and works of these writers, specifically from perspectives that bring the marginalised into focus.

Ichiyô has attracted numerous critics, mostly men in the beginning, since her death in 1896. This is partly because she died at the age of twenty-four when her fame as “prominent female novelist” was at its peak, which Inoue Hisashi, a professional writer himself, envied, saying that “her death was an ideal one for a writer” [小説家としては理想の死] (27). His claim is that she did not have to experience the misery of becoming a once-popular-now-forgotten writer (27). Likewise, Setouchi Harumi contends that Ichiyô performed up to her real ability as writer and that her life of twenty-four years was truly fulfilled (Setouchi and Maeda 247-49).

Although Ichiyô’s famous works are few, her position in Japanese literature is significant and she still captivates a number of readers. The fact that she is a woman does not affect her literary merit on the one hand, but gender is inseparable from the criticism of her life and works, particularly by male critics, on the other hand. A comment by Baba Kochô in 1912, her academic friend who helped publish her diaries, is representative in confirming her position as “a female novelist.” “We believe that Miss Ichiyô was an outstanding woman” [私どもは一葉君を優れた婦人であつたと信じて居る。] (306).

What made Ichiyô’s writing outstanding is its realism although Ichiyô’s mentor, Nakarai Tôsui, taught her to write in a “womanly” way. For example, Tôsui taught Ichiyô,

Seki Reiko argues, that there was gender in writing and that a woman writer had to emphasise womanly expressions if she wanted to be successful (*Reading* 51-52). However, Ichiyô's life at the lowest level of poverty inspired her insights into the reality of people of the lower class. The combination of realism and lyricism, cultivated through her study of poetry, crystallised into *Takekurabe* [Growing Up] (1895), *Nigorie* [Troubled Waters] (1895) and other stories that were written in her later years. The great Mori Ôgai, the "god" (Danly 153) of the then literary world, praised *Takekurabe* unreservedly. Ranking Ichiyô above Zola and Ibsen, he asserts that "even though the world's poets jeer me as a Ichiyô worshipper, I do not hesitate to confer on Ichiyô the title of a true poet" [われは縦令世の詩人に一葉崇拜の嘲を受んまでも、此人にまことの詩人といふ称をおくことを惜しまざるなり] (qtd in Watanabe *Criticism* 45).

Ichiyô was often compared with Murasaki Shikibu or Sei Shônagon who occupied prominent places in the literature of the Heian Period (794-1185). She was admired as the second wave of extraordinary female writers. Similarly, she was often compared with contemporary famous women novelists outside Japan, such as Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot and George Sand. In fact, Ichiyô was nicknamed "Brontë" by her male literati friends (Hirata Tokuboku 393). These comparisons were often neither analytical nor serious but derived, instead, from her "exceptional" position as a female novelist in a male-dominated literary world. Ichiyô herself perceived the triviality of such comparisons and wrote in her diaries, in May 1896, responding to the acclaim of *Takekurabe*:

Even if I write a mere scrap, they hail me as "today's Sei Shônagon or Murasaki Shikibu." They are really unthinking people without depth; they are amused to take notice of me only because I am a woman. [さればこそ、ことなる事なき反古紙作り出ても、「今清少よ、むらさきよ」と、はやし立て。誠は心なしの、いかなる底意ありてともしらず、我れをただ女子と計見るよりのすさび。] (3: 304-05 *Mizu no ue nikki* [みづの上日記] 2 May 1896)

The contemporary reception of Ichiyô is therefore problematic: her enthusiastic male

supporters, some of whom were representative of the literary world in those days, immortalised her fame while, at the same time, they inscribed the gender bias in the critical reception of her works which was to be followed by later critics.

Ichiyô's prominence was established and she died in the Meiji Period; therefore, her life and writing were identified with the notion of "Meiji" by later critics, both men and women. Sôma Gofû's calling Ichiyô "The Last Woman of Old Japan" (136, 142) in 1911 was the standard assessment of her as a woman. This phrase was written in English although his essay is in Japanese, as though he were stressing Ichiyô's archaism from a "modernised" standpoint. Hiratsuka Raichô, a "new woman" who established the feminist magazine *Bluestocking* [青鞥], condemned Ichiyô's feminine modesty and patience (152-72). Whereas Meiji was the era when Japan started to modernise and Ichiyô was probably aware of emerging modern ideas, she was locked up in the old image of Meiji by critics and thus herself became the representation of the antiquated Meiji.

Franklin's contribution to Australian literature is usually acknowledged as significant. Despite her expatriation from her native country from 1906 to 1933, her subject matter, Australian pioneering life, fixed her position in the tradition of Australian literature. *MBC* (1901), with which she made her literary debut, was praised for its realistic descriptions of the bush life and their Australianness, represented in a comment by A. G. Stephens, editor of the *Bulletin's* Red Page, for example. He says *MBC* is "the very first Australian novel to be published" (qtd in Franklin *Laughter* 118). This, as well as the novel's preface by Henry Lawson, secured Franklin's position with the traditional literary canon.

Significantly, Lawson, in his influential preface, did not investigate "the girlishly emotional parts" (*MBC* "Preface") which became the very aspect that would trouble some male critics and later attract feminist critics to Franklin's work. For example, Havelock Ellis, though acknowledging her "passionate young nature" (233), denied the literary merit in *MBC*: "[S]omething more than emotion is needed to make fine literature" (233) and

regarded *MBC* as an example of “unconscious abnormality” (qtd in Mathew 8). When *MBC* was republished in 1966, a review, by A. A. Phillips, seems to have established or recycled the convention of *MBC* criticism: while acknowledging “dozens of faults” and “immaturities,” the critic values the novel’s “sovereign honesty” and “sensible audacities” (924).

Geoffrey Dutton, in *The Literature of Australia* (1976), classifies Franklin as one of the “national-minded novelists” (164), along with Joseph Furphy, but she is “anachronistic,” and “a victim of the provincial” (183). Dutton, however, does not hesitate to include *MBC* in *The Australian Collection: Australia’s Greatest Books* (1985) saying that *MBC* is “a most outstanding Australian book” (71). H. M. Green, in *History of Australian Literature* (1984), emphasises the realism of the novels by Brent of Bin Bin, Franklin’s most successful pseudonym, as “not a romantic glorification of life” (690). Noting the idiosyncrasy of Franklin’s feminism, Green does not pursue this subject and dismisses it as “disturbing” (691). Green writes about *MBC*: “Its style is sometimes excruciating: stiff, clumsily formal, full of lapses in English and absurd melodramatic clichés, but through them struggles a rich vernacular” (693).

Thus, Franklin’s position within the canon of Australian literature emphasises the Australian provinciality and realism in her writing, although this quality now belongs to the old and the classic. The feminist part in her life and works were either trivialised or ignored. The most hostile example of this attitude is to be found in Colin Roderick’s biography of Franklin (1982), to the extent that Roderick’s study has been described as “a misogynist study” (Blain et al. 395). He obviously dislikes her feminism: “[S]he spent the best years of her life as lackey to dominating women who were natural obsessed feminists. [...] Stella’s pursuit of the rainbow was to lead her into a quagmire of irrelevant and wasteful New Woman militancy” (73).

I consider that there are significant likenesses in the conventional assessments of early criticism on Ichiyô and Franklin. First, they were praised for their realism that had

been the important feature in the literature of Japan and Australia of the time. However, Ichiyô's subject matter, the life and struggles of people, especially women, at the lower levels of society was identified with the notion of Meiji, represented as "Old Japan." Similarly, Franklin's subject matter in her famous work, the various lives in the nineteenth-century Australian bush, was called classic. Both Ichiyô and Franklin were sometimes branded as archaic. In addition, their inclination to feminism or issues concerning women in their writing, though less articulated in Ichiyô's works, were marginalised or trivialised until feminist critics re-evaluated them.

With the posthumous publication of her diaries in 1912 by her sister and influential literary friends, criticism of Ichiyô's work came to depend on the record in her diaries. In fact, materials that Ichiyô used for her stories have been found in the diaries. For example, *Yuki no hi* [A Snowy Day] (1893) is based on her experience and was conceived on 4 February 1892. The critics believed her private life, especially the period when she was running a business near the pleasure quarter, to be the foundation of well-known works such as *Takekurabe* and *Nigorie*. Shioda Ryôhei and Wada Yoshie, both men, have made crucial contributions to Ichiyô scholarship through their meticulous investigation of her works, diaries and her life. They are the initiators of the modern criticism of Ichiyô.

Ichiyô's biography conventionally starts with the dramatic lives of her parents and her paternal grandfather. Shioda's *Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉] (1985) is a good example of a compact account of her life. Robert Danly's *In the Shade of Spring Leaves* (1981), a biography and critical analysis of her works in English which includes translation of some of her stories, relates all the important incidents in her life. Biographers conclude that her familiarity with past literary works from an early age was due to the influence of her father and grandfather and that her passion for social success was inherited from them. These assumptions have become almost indispensable in characterising the beginning of Ichiyô's life.

Higuchi Natsu, alias Higuchi Ichiyô, was born in 1872 in Tokyo as the fifth child

and as the second girl of Noriyoshi and Taki. Her attachment to literature started when she was only six and her father built his hopes on her literary intelligence. The precocious Ichiyô began to ponder over her future: she reminisces, at the age of twenty-one, in the midst of a difficult life, on the possibilities she envisaged for herself as a child.

By the time I was eight, I knew that I couldn't bear to go through life being ordinary. It was all I thought about: somehow I had to stand out. [かくて九つ計の時よりは、我身の一生の、世の常にて終らむことなげかはしく、「あはれ、くれ竹の一ふしぬけ出しがな」とぞあけくれに願ひける。] (3: 210 *Chiri no naka* [塵之中] 10 Aug. 1893; Danly 12)

Contrary to her ambition, her formal education at a private primary school was stopped by Taki, her mother, when she was eleven. However, Noriyoshi, her father, pitied her yearning to study and she was allowed to go to a private school for Japanese poetry, *Haginoya* [Bush-Clover Cabin], at the age of fourteen.

She succeeded as head of the family in 1888 when her oldest brother, who had been the head since 1883, died from tuberculosis. But her father also died in the following year leaving debts. Then, deciding against living with the expelled brother, Toranosuke, who had been living separately as a craftsman, Ichiyô, Taki and her younger sister, Kuniko, became independent of any man's support. At the age of nineteen, she decided to become a professional writer to earn her living and visited Nakarai Tôsui, who was a serial novelist of *Asahi Newspapers*. From the moment of the encounter with Tôsui, she began to write her diaries, which she started to keep when she was fifteen, with a more serious and constant purpose. It seems that the diaries turned into the record of her love for Tôsui.

In 1892, Ichiyô made her debut with *Yamizakura* [Flowers at Dusk] in a literary magazine, *Musashi Plain* [武蔵野], which Tôsui established for her. She published two other stories in *Musashi Plain*, *Tamadasuki* [Jeweled Sleeve Band] and *Samidare* [Early Summer Rain], in the same year but the new magazine was unable to continue publication after the third issue because of financial problems. Then, the rumour of Ichiyô's

involvement with Tôsui at *Haginoya* led her to stop the association with him publicly. It is ironical that *Umoregi* [In Obscurity] (1892), published in another magazine after her estrangement from Tôsui, was the first work that caught the attention of literary critics. As she published more stories such as *Akatsuki zukuyo* [A Moonlight Night at Dawn] (1893) and *Yuki no hi* [A Snowy Day] (1893), she made friends with male literati. However, her family's economic situation worsened. When they decided to start a business, running a general store, she became too busy to write even her diaries. But Ichiyô managed to write *Kotonone* [The Sound of the Koto] (1893) and *Hanagomori* [Clouds in Springtime] (1894), which were published during her life in the business world and when she was in need of money. She also managed to have the time to study literature in the library. However, Ichiyô and her family soon gave up their shop.

There followed, until her death in 1896, the period of her most notable literary productivity. In fact, critics' interest has tended to concentrate on the works written in her later years. Unlike the old-fashioned and lyric styles of her early writings, her famous stories such as *Ôtsugomori* [On the Last Day of the Year] (1895), *Takekurabe* [Growing Up] (1895-96), *Nigorie* [Troubled Waters] (1895), *Jûsan'ya* [The Thirteenth Night] (1895) and *Wakare michi* [Separate Ways] (1896) are realistic, although there are still vestiges of lyricism. Many critics agree that her struggles in business life and poverty nurtured her preoccupations with realism. Though often excluded from the rest of the best works, *Konoko* [This Child] (1896) is her first attempt at using a colloquial style.

When *Takekurabe*, once serialised in the journal *The World of Literature* [文学界], was published as a complete novel in *The Literary Club* [文芸倶楽部] in April 1896, it caused a sensation and her position as writer was established. But her health had become worse from the spring of that year. Fighting against sickness, she wrote *Warekara* [Destructive Fate] and essays and published an instructive book – actually her only publication in book form while she was alive – on letter writing and left *Uramurasaki* [Reverse Purple] unfinished. She died of tuberculosis on 23 November at the age of



twenty-four.

In my outline of Franklin's biography, I refer particularly to *Miles Franklin* (1967) by Marjorie Barnard and *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (1981), edited by Douglas Pike, in which the Franklin section is written by Jill Roe. Stella Maria Sarah Miles Franklin was born in 1879 at her favorite grandmother's place, Talbingo in New South Wales, as the eldest child of John Maurice Franklin of Brindabella station and Margaret Susannah Helena (née Lampe). Miles was a fifth-generation Australian. There is no doubt that the turbulent phase of Australia's growth affected Miles's ancestors and played a significant role in characterising her Australianness and motifs in her writing.

Miles's early years at Brindabella, and especially at Old Talbingo, were the happiest time in her life surrounded by the bush and numerous relatives. Her education started when she was six, at home by her mother and at an uncle's house with a tutor. When she was ten, because of a financial crisis, her family moved to a smaller property at Thornford which her mother named Stillwater and which she hated. She went to Thornford Public School but, having been used mostly to adult company, she did not get along well with the other children. Her formal education did not extend further despite her keenness and ability.

Miles started to write her first book, *MBC*, when she was eighteen and it was published in 1901 by William Blackwood & Sons after having been rejected by three Australian publishers. Since it was considered to be her autobiography, she was exposed to the curiosity of people and unwelcome attention of some neighbors and relatives. It seems that Havelock Ellis's psychoanalytical criticism disturbed her so much that she became obsessed with anonymity and did not expose the names of actual people and places even in her memoir. However, the success of her first book led her to Sydney and she became a freelance writer and also worked as a housemaid, as a "Mary-Anne." She then met Joseph Furphy whose *Such Is Life* (1903) she admired and with whom she maintained a friendship. She also made friends with feminists such as Rose Scott and Vida Goldstein

and became involved in the Australian feminist movement. It seems that she wrote the sequel to her first book around this period, but *MCGB* (1946) had to wait forty years for publication because of her advanced opinions on women's issues and because it was libellous, satirising Sydney society (Parker and Kermode 261).

Miles left Australia for the USA in 1906 and thirty years' exile began. The initial plan of her life in America was to take music lessons and work. Like some of her heroines, Dawn in *Some Everyday Folk and Dawn* (1909) and Ignez in *Cockatoos* (1954), music was her passion. In Chicago, Miles met fellow Australian Alice Henry and joined her in organising the National Women's Trade Union League of America; the president, Margaret Drier Robins, offered her a position as personal secretary. Although her responsibilities in the League increased, she still had a passion for art: she took singing and piano lessons in her scant spare time. Moreover, she constantly suffered from lack of money.

Miles began to help edit, with Alice Henry, the League's monthly journal *Life and Labour* in 1912, in which she not only influenced the literary content but also discussed feminism. But Alice Henry resigned three years later, followed shortly by Miles, because of a conflict over policy with Margaret Drier Robins. *The Net of Circumstance* (1915), based on her life in America, was published in London in 1915 under her strange pseudonym, "Mr And Mrs Ogniblat L' Artsau" (an anagram on Talbingo Australia). Her health deteriorated and she finally left America in 1915.

Miles went to England and joined the Scottish Women's Hospital in 1917 after brief work at Margaret McMillan's crèche at Deptford. In 1919 she returned to London and became the assistant secretary with the National Housing and Town Planning Council in Bloomsbury until 1926. In 1927, she came home in Australia due to her declining health and family pressure. Her father died in 1931 and her financial condition deteriorated. She published, using the more famous nom de plume, Brent of Bin Bin, *Up the Country* (1928), *Ten Creeks Run* (1930) and *Back to Bool Bool* (1931), a saga of the Australian pioneer life that was well received. As "Miles Franklin," too, she published *Old Blastus of Bandicoot*

(1931) and, on her return to London in 1932, *Bring the Monkey* (1933), *All That Swagger* (1936) and *MCCGB* (1946). Aside from *MBC*, *All That Swagger* is perhaps most famous and won the Prior Memorial Award in 1936.

Miles came back to her native land in 1933 for good and became an active figure on the Australian literary scene. She collaborated in a satirical work, *Pioneers on Parade* (1939), with Dymphna Cusack and, with Kate Baker, in a study entitled *Joseph Furphy* (1944). She also published a critical work on Australian literature, *Laughter, Not for a Cage*. It is a collection of lectures she gave at the University of Western Australia in 1950, and was published posthumously in 1956. Miles Franklin died in September 1954 at the age of seventy-five. Wanting to help fellow Australian writers, she left money to found a literary prize for “a novel which illuminated a phase of Australian life” (Barnard 157). This is the annual Miles Franklin Literary Award.

Although Barnard is more sympathetic to Franklin’s feminism than Roderick, they share an approach to investigating her life: they write eloquently about Franklin’s childhood and its considerable influence upon her and conclude that she was not really happy when not in Australia. This view is formed partly because Franklin avoided speaking of her years in America and England whereas she left a memoir of her childhood in pastoral Australia where she was happiest. As Barnard asserts at the end of her book, Franklin’s “ancestry, her early experiences and her bush background” (158) are important factors in an appreciation of her works, especially her famous novels, *MBC* and *All That Swagger*, which depend on her experiences and family stories. Roderick traces her genealogy more thoroughly and his book is full of photographs and sketches of the family members and the landscape. As if to stress her Australianness, these biographers deal only briefly with Franklin’s exile in America and England. Barnard’s emphasis is mostly upon the publication of her work. Roderick writes that Miles left America because “the conviction dawned on her that her labours were a delusion” (111). Franklin’s silence on her expatriate life and her devotion to Australian literature in her old age seem to lead

these biographers to this conclusion.

Bruce Sutherland's "Stella Miles Franklin's American Years" (1965) and Verna Coleman's *Miles Franklin in America* (1981), however, focus on Franklin's life in America. Yet, they render it somewhat tragic as though it were a mistake in her life. Coleman's question in the end of her book is symbolic: "If Stella Franklin had not been drawn [ . . . ] into the cause of women's trade unionism in her American years would her energies have been more satisfyingly used?" (202). She implies a regret for Franklin's exile and seems to wish that Franklin had remained in Australia and contributed to Australian literature more extensively. Coleman and Barnard agree with Ray Mathew's view in *Miles Franklin* (1963) that the only worthwhile novel by Franklin from a literary point of view is *MBC* (Barnard 191; Coleman 49; Mathew 19). Coleman concludes with a paragraph saying that Franklin was an Australian writer who wrote about "the unremarkable simplicity and stoicism of the life of the pioneers, her own people" (202).

However, other critics, mostly women, have tried to describe Franklin's life focusing on other aspects than her nationalism. Drusilla Modjeska, in her famous work *Exiles at Home* (1981), studies Franklin's contribution to the socialist feminist magazine, *Life and Labour*, in America, to reveal Franklin's ambiguous feminist tenets. Modjeska's analysis is feminist and does not depend on a sense of Australianness. Similarly, Jill Roe and others have traced Franklin's career as a writer and not only as a nationalist. Roe is one of the feminist critics who focused on Franklin's "secret" life in "The Significant Silence: Miles Franklin's Middle Years," as early as 1980. Catherine Pratt, in "Walking round the World" (1998), studies the works by Franklin, Henry Handel Richardson and Christina Stead who all spent many years overseas and discusses the nationalism of the 1930s and 1940s. Sylvia Martin's article, "Women's Secrets: Miles Franklin in London" (1992), investigates Franklin's friendships in London through her letters with her close friends, Mary Fullerton and Mabel Singleton. Martin finds that their friendship had to be secret against masculine hegemony since "[the] importance of women's friendship itself

[...] is disregarded or denigrated” (37). Martin thinks that Franklin’s and Fullerton’s use of pseudonyms was “to win control over their lives” (42). Martin has developed her article recently into a book, *Passionate Friends: Mary Fullerton, Mabel Singleton, and Miles Franklin* (2001). Valerie Kent, in “Alias Miles Franklin” (1985), also delves into the mystery of Franklin’s pseudonyms which allowed her radical and feminist writing more freedom.

Roe has also edited Franklin’s letters and topical writings in *My Congenials: Miles Franklin and Friends in Letters* (1993) and, with Margaret Bettison, *A Gregarious Culture: Topical Writings of Miles Franklin* (2001). *As Good As a Yarn with You* (1992), edited by Carole Ferrier, and *Yarn Spinners* (2001), edited by Marilla North, highlight the liaison between Franklin and her fellow Australian women writers. Thus, Franklin’s documents, both personal and public, have gradually been published by female, and/or feminist, critics and have brought another dimension to Franklin criticism over and above nationalism: the link between women writers.

Traditional Ichiyô criticism has given way, to some extent, to feminist analysis and some feminist critics have recently started to align Ichiyô with other women writers; Watanabe Sumiko is outstanding in this regard. Her *Criticism of Modern Japanese Women’s Writing* [日本近代女性文学論] (1998), which is a collection of her previously published articles, some revised, includes the one on Ichiyô’s *Warekara* in *Rereading Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉を読みなおす] (1994). Watanabe co-edited with Imai Yasuko and Yabu Teiko *Short Stories by Women Writers: An Enlarged Edition* [短編女性文学 近代：増補版] in 1999. This book contains twelve short story writers with their selected stories respectively, chronological tables and brief criticism. *An Invitation to Feminist Criticism* [フェミニズム批評への招待] (1995), edited by Iwabuchi et al., challenges mainstream analysis of the canon of modern Japanese literature and includes a criticism of *Takekurabe* by Yabu Teiko.

Outside Japan, Tanaka Yukiko’s book *Women Writers of Meiji and Taisho Japan*

(2000) contains her analysis of Ichiyô but this book is more about other women writers who have been reassessed in Japan. Rebecca Copeland, in “The Meiji Woman Writer: ‘Amidst a Forest of Beards’” (1992) and in her new book, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (2000), purposely avoids Ichiyô since her aim is to focus on women writers in Meiji who tended to be neglected because of Ichiyô’s dominance.

Since the 1990s, feminist critics, thus, have centred more explicitly upon feminist analysis of Ichiyô’s writings. Some critics have positioned Ichiyô in the context of Meiji from a woman’s perspective; for example, Seki Reiko’s *The Time for Women to Narrate: Ichiyô and Women’s Expressions in Meiji* [語る女たちの時代：一葉と明治女性表現] (1997), Kan Satoko’s *The Time, Women and Higuchi Ichiyô* [時代と女と樋口一葉] (1999), and *The Meiji History of Women’s Expressions: Before Higuchi Ichiyô* [女性表現の明治史：樋口一葉以前] (1999) by Hirata Yumi. Hirata focuses on magazines and newspapers as media that affected women immensely, particularly, women’s readership, literacy, and writing. She demonstrates how women were repressed and restricted by the media and how the media tried to impose a subordination to men on women in that they should not be cleverer than men; otherwise, they could not have a happy marriage which was the “goal” in a woman’s life. These titles tell us that they do not look at Ichiyô and her writings the way men did once. They put her and other women (writers) in the same line instead of isolating them.

Seki Reiko, Nishikawa Yûko and Saegusa Kazuko published extensive works of Ichiyô’s life and works, coincidentally, in the same year, 1992. Nishikawa’s *My Narrating of Higuchi Ichiyô* [私語り：樋口一葉] creates a unique critical style: Nishikawa, masquerading as Ichiyô, writes Ichiyô’s “will” or “autobiography” (214). Saegusa asserts that her book, *One Floating Boat* [ひとひらの舟], is fiction, though incidents are based on the facts in the diaries, as interpreted by Saegusa. Seki explains that her *Reading Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉をよむ], in *Sister’s Power: Higuchi Ichiyô* [姉の力：樋口一葉] (1993), is her attempt<sup>at</sup> of Ichiyô’s critical biography. Seki writes that this coincidence of three female critics publishing criticism on Ichiyô in the same year is rather unusual since publication

at Ichiyô criticism in book form has been dominated by male critics (172-73). Seki points out that a common attitude in these three books is that they try to tell “Ichiyô’s narrative” from a woman’s point of view (173). One of the traditional male critics, Matsusaka Toshio, is obviously uneasy about Seki’s feminist project: Matsusaka responds to *Sister’s Power* as follows:

To analyse a writer and his or her works from one critical perspective does not always reveal the essence even though that perspective is impressive. [あるひとつの批評理論で作家や作品を切ることは、たとえその切り口はあざやかであっても、必ずしもその本質のすべてを究明するとは限らない。] (qtd in Aoki Toshihiro 138)

Aoki Toshihiro, who quotes this Matsusaka’s comment, writes that feminist analysis is now “in its glory” [全盛] (138) in his short article, “The Currents of Ichiyô Criticism” [樋口一葉研究のいま] (1994).

Seki is concerned about how earlier women critics looked at Ichiyô and her works. In 1993, she republished two women’s publications on Ichiyô, which had been difficult to obtain: the critic, Shimaki Ei’s 1973 book *Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉], and the poet, Imai Kuniko’s 1940 book of the same name. Indeed, Imai’s was the first criticism of Ichiyô in book form by a woman but it did not receive much contemporary attention. Despite the fact that these two women did not specialize in Ichiyô, Seki considers that their criticism was free from the conventional interpretations and still has appeal today.

A collection of feminist critical essays, *Rereading Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉をよみなおす] (1994), edited by Shin Feminizumu Hihiyô no Kai [The New Association of Feminist Criticism], is radical and challenging. An international feminist critic, Mizuta Noriko, comments: “No other recent book proves that ‘rereading’ is so stimulating and fun” [<読みなおし>がこれほど刺激に満ちた、楽しい営為であることを、この本ほど明確に示す批評は昨今稀] (qtd in Inoue Yoshie, 160).

Some feminist critics refer to commonalities between Ichiyô and women writers outside Japan and base their criticism on “Western” feminist theories. Enomoto Yoshiko,

in “Breaking Out of Despair” (1987), makes a textual comparison between *Jane Eyre* (1847) and *Villette* (1853) by Brontë and *Nigorie* [Troubled Waters] and *Wakaremichi* [Separate Ways] by Ichiyô. Mitsutani Margaret argues, referring to *Mad Woman in the Attic* (1979) and *The Female Malady* (1985), that the heroines of *Yamizakura* [Flowers at Dusk] and *Utsusemi* [Empty Days] suffer the Japanese version of “the domestication of madness” in “‘Madness’ and the Absence of Adolescence” (1994). Kitada Sachie, in her discussion of *Yamiyo* [Encounters on a Dark Night] in *Rereading Higuchi Ichiyô*, identifies the heroine, Oran, with the “mad woman,” who crosses the border of patriarchy. She points out the similarity between Oran’s relationship to Naojirô and Katherine’s to Heathcliff in *Wuthering Heights* (1847) in that the couples, as “orphans” in patriarchal society, each form one androgynous individual (97). Nakagawa Narumi, in the chapter on Ichiyô’s *Jûsan’ya* [The Thirteenth Night] in her *Memories Narrating* [語りかける記憶] (1999), identifies the heroine, Oseki, with the brutalised Creole wife in Jean Rhys’s *Tigers are Better-Looking* (1968) (47-48). Oseki is also compared with Nora in Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House* (1879) by various critics (Hirabayashi 200; Seki *The Time* 333; Takitô 237).

As if to oppose these efforts by feminist critics, Hashimoto Takeshi brands terms like “text,” “feminism,” “narration” and “reading,” as “jargon” [極めつけ文句] (169) in “The Degradation of Criticism” [墮落としての批評] in 1995. He criticises Maeda Ai and his *The World of Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉の世界] (1978) as Maeda “liberated studies of Ichiyô from ‘the spell of biography’” [＜伝記＞の呪縛から一葉研究を解放] (169), arguing that Maeda disregarded the thorough research by Shioda and Wada. Then, calling feminism a “label” [レッテル] (169), Hashimoto criticises implicitly feminist critics who see Ichiyô’s literature merely as “the material for criticism” [「批評」の素材] (169).

In Australia, the publication of books, collections of papers on women writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by feminist critics has been extensive. 1988, the Australian bicentennial of white settlement, was a fruitful year for such publications. In *Writing a New World: Two Centuries of Australian Women Writers*, Dale Spender



introduces some two hundred women writers without hierarchies and ranking. She says: "A balanced, *inclusive*, fully human heritage" ("Introduction" xvi) would not exist without women's heritage. She also edited the *Penguin Anthology of Australian Women's Literature* which contains brief biographies and selected stories of women writers. In *Her Selection: Writings by Nineteenth-Century Women*, Lynn Spender collects stories in accordance with women writers' interests and concerns rather than from the point of view of the powerful ideology of the bush. The editor of *A Bright and Fiery Troop*, Debra Adelaide, asserts that the book's project is "to re-read the history of Australian literature" (1), and she laments the *need* to reintroduce women writers who were neglected by the narrow range of the Australian canon (13). Patricia Clarke in *Pen Portraits* collects lives and achievements not only of women writers but also of women journalists despite the difficulty in finding records at major newspapers.

Of course, feminist critics have been active before and since 1988. It is significant that Drusilla Modjeska focuses on women writers around the 1930s, the decade regarded as productive of women's writings in spite of the difficulty and oppression continuing from prior years. *Exiles at Home* (1981) is "a book not only about social history but about writing, about cultural and ideological struggle, about feminism and fiction, about the contradictions of class and gender" (2). *Who Is She?* (1983), edited by Shirley Walker, as the subtitle *Images of Woman in Australian Fiction* suggests, is a collection of essays asking how the selected writers regard feminine figures in their writings, although not necessarily from a feminist perspective. Carole Ferrier has edited *Gender, Politics and Fiction* (1985) that "brings together a range of new readings of twentieth century Australian women's fiction from socialist and/or feminist standpoints" (1). Debra Adelaide's *Bibliography of Australian Women's Literature* (1991), is an accurate record of works of Australian women writers. *The Time to Write* (1993), edited by Kay Ferres, is a collection of papers bringing together women writers who were marginalised out of the male tradition and seeking feminine traditions: plural and therefore inclusive.

These feminist rereadings of women writers go hand in hand with the rewriting of the standard Australian history. Miriam Dixon's *The Real Matilda* (1976) and Anne Summers's *Damned Whores and God's Police* (1975) are outstanding. Dixon traces women who arrived in Australia since 1788 and who were ignored by traditional, that is, male-dominated historical writing. The book also presents the author's analysis of the issue of national identity. In the preface to the fourth edition in 1999, Dixon asserts that early experiences in formative Australia affect women and their identity today (2-10). Summers notes that Australian women were categorised into two types: damned whores and God's police. Summers argues that this dichotomy hindered women's sisterhood because respectable middle-class women, God's police, renounced their fallen sisters, damned whores. Ostensibly, women's respectability was necessary for the formation of Australian society, while their sexuality, although often suppressed, was also necessary to satisfy men. Summers's study portrays Australia as a sexist society and calls for "a comprehensive understanding of the complex and subtle ways in which sexism permeates every facet of social and economic organisation" (27). Although Kay Schaffer in *Women and the Bush* (1988) criticises Dixon's and Summers's approaches as "rely[ing] on phallogentric and logocentric assumptions" (67), I consider these two books remarkable in their exposure of the dark or suppressed side of Australian history.

Marilyn Lake's controversial article, "The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculinist Context" (1986) aroused debates among feminists and historians. She accuses male historians of blindness "to the problematic nature of the sex of their subjects by their own sex-centredness" (116). Her study of the *Bulletin* shows that Australia is a country "where masculinist values had been elevated to the status of national traditions" (127). This essay was republished in *Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests 1890s* (1993), a collection of essays that "coheres around issues of gender in the 1890s, as read in the 1990s" ("Introduction" xx). Others, such as *Gender Relations in Australia; Domination and Negotiation* (1992), edited by Kay Saunders and Raymond Evans, and *Creating a*

*Nation* (1994) by Patricia Grimshaw et al. are significant, too. The former aims to diversify the narrow historiography constructed by males. In *Creating a Nation*, contributors try to rewrite the conventional Australian history of white man's settlement into a history from the perspective of women's oppression by men. These contributions to feminist re-readings of Australian women have historically and sociologically affected literary criticism. Feminist critics share a common approach to the texts they select: they disprove the established ideologies and uncover what was hitherto marginalised or made light of.

Researches on Japanese women are copious. However, the initiator of thorough research on the history of women in Japan from a woman's point of view is Takamure Itsue, a woman poet and critic. Her research covers not only the general history of women but also forms of marriage and matriarchy in Japan, such as in *History of Women* [女性の歴史] (1948) and *Study of Matriarchy* [母系制の研究] (1954). *History of Women in Japan* [日本女性史] (1982) by Joseishi Sôgô Kenkyûkai [General Research Group of Women's History] in five volumes, is a good example of contemporary publications on the history of Japanese women, focusing on women's oppression. Histories of Japanese women have also been written in English. Sharon Sievers's *Flowers in Salt* (1983) is a good introduction to the history of the women's movement in Japan after modernisation. *Recreating Japanese Women* (1991), edited by Gail Lee Bernstein, is a compilation of sociological and literary criticism on Japanese women, ranging from 1600 to 1945. It defines gender roles as follows: "Whereas sex roles refer merely to the fixed range of capabilities of female and male genitalia, gender roles are sociohistorical conventions of deportment arbitrarily attributed to either females or males" (2).

In the 1990s, "gender" became the key term to reinterpret the established ideologies. For example, the history of Japan itself was rewritten in terms of gender as in *Gender and Japanese History* [ジェンダーの日本史] (1994-95), edited by Wakita Haruko and S. B. Hanley. In *Engendering Nationalism* [ナショナリズムとジェンダー] (1998), Ueno Chizuko

describes the attempt of the modern Japanese government since the Meiji Restoration to divide its citizens by gender. That the government tried to “nationalise women,” through wars for instance, suggests that women were not in fact citizens. Ueno also co-edited *Gender and Women* [ジェンダーと女性] (1998), a collection of papers analysing modern Japanese society. Literary critics too started to focus on gender; for example, *Gender and Modern Japanese Literature* [ジェンダーの日本近代文学] (1998) by Nakayama Kazuko et al. and Nakagawa Narumi’s *Memories Narrating: Literature and Gender Studies* [語りかける記憶：文学とジェンダースタディーズ] (1999), both deal with Ichiyô. The former rereads modern Japanese literature from a cultural perspective and the editors suggest that it become a textbook for high school and college students (1). *For Those Who Study Women’s Writing* [女性文学を学ぶ人のために] (2000), edited by Watanabe Sumiko, introduces keywords and concepts required to read and understand women’s writing and does not treat it as an inferior genre to men’s literature.

Some critics concentrate on women in Meiji, who were strikingly powerless especially when compared to their strong female ancestors. They are anxious to emphasise how the Meiji government structured the law and society in favour of men and how women were oppressed. Murakami Nobuhiko’s *History of Women in Meiji* [明治女性史] (1977), in four volumes, not only thoroughly examines social situations imposed on women but also portrays the lives of some of the women he interviewed. Although Murakami’s attitude is not so much feminist as philanthropic, it is true that he gave a voice to the suppressed. Meiji is an epoch of Japan’s modernisation that oppressed women on the one hand, but awakened them to a modern sense of identity on the other. *Intellectual Passion of the Meiji Women* [明治女性の知的情熱] (1989), edited by Setouchi Harumi, features women who achieved great goals in spite of the high hurdles. Setouchi also edits *Women’s Literature, A Burning Fire* [火と燃えた女流文学] (1989) containing the lives and works of women writers in Meiji who were trivialised by the male tradition.

The titles that I have listed are just a few of the multitude of publications on this

subject. However, they are enough to show that feminist criticism has now established its position and intervened in the canon of national literature in both countries.

Feminist critics have struggled to position Franklin and *MBC* nationally and internationally in terms of nineteenth-century women's writing. Francis McInherry, for example, "place[s] Miles Franklin within a female rather than Australian tradition" (72) in her essay, "Miles Franklin, *My Brilliant Career*, and the Female Tradition" (1983) included in *Who Is She?* (1983). In "Overturning the Doll's House" (1983), G. V. Green compares *MBC* with *The Story of an African Farm* (1883) by Olive Schreiner, an African writer; this comparison was earlier suggested by Nettie Palmer (Nettie Palmer 419).<sup>1</sup> Despite the difference between the social structures of South Africa and Australia, Green argues, gender-based and unfair division was evident in both societies. Carole Gerson compares *The Story of an African Farm*, *MBC* and *A Daughter of Today* (1894) by Canadian-born Sara Jeannette Duncan in "Wild Colonial Girls: New Women of the Empire, 1883-1901" (1995). Gerson argues that there is a common discourse in these three writings, "a discourse of wildness and civility that encodes their apprehension of imperialism as a complicating factor in the creation of stories for colonial young women who challenge received gender norms, and through whom their authors 'confront their own colonization'" (63-64). Jennifer Strauss, in "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman" (1991), considers *MBC* and *Lives of Girls and Women* (1971) by Alice Munro, a Canadian writer, as bildungsromane which portray the heroines' "personal romantic developments" (51) rather than their pursuit of writing careers.

However, Susan Gardner, in "My Brilliant Career: Portrait of the Artist as a Wild Colonial Girl" included in *Gender, Politics and Fiction* (1985), emphasises the imperative to "undertake intercolonial comparisons" of societies with the similar social conditions or biographical backgrounds (41). Susan Martin, in "Relative Correspondence" in *The Time to Write* (1993), traces the connection between Franklin and turn-of-the-century Australian women writers. She sees *MBC* as "responding directly to that Australian female tradition

and to the 'masculinist' rejection of it" (56). Delys Bird makes an "intercolonial comparison" in "Towards an Aesthetics of Australian Women's Writing" (1983), reading *MBC* and *The Getting of Wisdom* (1910) by Henry Handel Richardson as portraits of women's struggle against the dominant masculine power.

Susan Sheridan has published *Along the Faultlines* (1995), a collection of her essays on late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century women writers. In "'Temper, Romantic; Bias, Offensively Feminine:' Australian Women Writers and Literary Nationalism," previously published in 1985, Sheridan examines the hierarchical division of romance and realism, described respectively as derivatively feminine and authentically masculine. Sheridan argues that Franklin and Barbara Baynton were praised for their realism, making them transcend their femaleness, as opposed to conventional female romance writers such as Ada Cambridge, Rosa Praed and Tasma. However, Sheridan continues to argue that these romance writers also dealt with their concerns about gender issues. Her argument is significant for linking Franklin with other women novelists around the 1890s, superficially divided by the masculine hierarchy of realism/romance.

Cassandra Pybus's "The Real Miles Franklin?" (1983) questions the general image of Franklin as a feminist novelist. She argues that the success of the film version of *MBC* (1979), in which Sybylla's feminism conveys her "sense of achievement" (459), contributed to reinforcing this image. Her conclusion is that Franklin's "career was not so much brilliant as tragic, and the tragedy lies in her inability to develop beyond the adolescent confusions of *My Brilliant Career*" (468). Margaret Lenta in "*My Brilliant Career*: A Novel for Adolescence" (1984), similarly, classifies *MBC* as bildungsroman and concludes that both Franklin and Sybylla are immature because of their adolescence and, therefore, *MBC* is not a masterpiece like *Great Expectations* (1860-61).

Glen Thomas, in "Reading Women's Writing" (1993), questions the appraisal of *MBC* as "immature" and "clumsy," by such male critics as H. M. Green. Thomas argues that the literary inferiority of *MBC* or seeing the novel as the author's autobiography was

reinscribed by later female, or feminist, critics such as Bird, Pybus and McInherny (79). Thomas rejects this appraisal and argues that a model for “good novel” with unity and coherency is based upon “a masculinist humanism” (80), which describes *MBC* as “immature” and “clumsy.” He claims that we should read *MBC* in terms of “feminist time” (81), “against the dominant values of realist/hierarchical criticism” (82). Similarly, Susan Gingell, in “Delineating the Differences” (1990), proposes to read *MBC* differently from men’s texts, setting an intertextual link between women’s writing regarding experiences and features.

The critical reception of *MCGB* is various, too. A review in *Australian Book News* in 1946 was not entirely negative: the reviewer, J. M., writes of *MCGB* as “a poignant personal story of a checkmated girl,” which “must have even startled the ’possums around the homestead” (207). On the other hand, James Campbell, in *New Statesman* in 1981, writes that *MCGB* “is the thinnest kind of sequel” (21). Ray Mathew brands the sequel as “a minor classic” but *MBC* itself as “a classic” (30).

Nevertheless, some feminist critics have not forgotten to include *MCGB* in their criticism, although it is not as substantial as *MBC* criticism. Anna Rutherford, in “Miles Franklin: The Outside Track” (1991), portrays Franklin by investigating mainly *MCGB*. Rutherford’s analysis also deals with a comparison of *MBC* as novel and film. With Pybus, she is dubious of the film’s accuracy in characterising Sybylla as a successful feminist. In her examination of *MCGB*, Rutherford refers to works by other women writers, such as *Middlemarch* (1871-72) by George Eliot which questions “men’s belief in their own superiority” (125) and Alice Munro’s *Lives of Girls and Women* which portrays the heroine’s rejection of “penis envy” (128).

Some recent critics have studied the correlation of gender and genre in *MBC* and *MCGB*. Ian Henderson in “Gender, Genre and Sybylla’s Performative Identity in Miles Franklin’s *My Brilliant Career*” (1997) discusses Sybylla’s constant shift between realism and romance relating her rejection of unified model of gender identity. Following Judith

Butler's famous theory that "gender roles are 'always already' a performance" (165), Henderson maintains that Sybylla's narrative "offers a model of identity based not on a single gender/genre, but on a process of performing gendered genre roles in a manner that never quite matches the ruling prescription" (165).

Sanjay Sircar's essay, "*My Career Goes Bung*: Genre-Parody, Australianness and Anglophilia" (1998-99), discusses the text's tension between realism and stylization, represented by "cheap English serialised formula fiction, the *Penny Post* novel" (175). He argues that this tension "corresponds to the tensions between literary and social Australian [sic] and anglophilia" (200). Although Sircar contends that the text's slippages between realism and stylization are not recognised by Sybylla, Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp, in "Performing Gender and Genre in Miles Franklin's *My Career Goes Bung*" (1999-2000), considers that those slippages are deliberately chosen. She writes: "[T]he slippages serve [. . .] to highlight the explosion of the conventions of both the romantic and the realist modes, calling into question the existence or mere possibility of a unified genre in the same way that the existence of a 'core' gender is debunked through the characters' role-playing" (293). Henderson and Schmidt-Haberkamp have unfettered both Sybyllas in *MBC* and *MCGB* from the gendered genre of realism and romance and put them into their own genre.

To critics *CAB* seems the least attractive of the three works: for fewer critical works have appeared. It may be because *CAB* is an autobiographical, though slightly fictitious, record of Franklin's childhood that it tends to be seen, for example by a reviewer in *Southerly* when it was first published, as "[t]he sentimental journey of remembrance" (Ashworth 71). Joy Hooton, however, in "Miles Franklin's *Childhood at Brindabella*" (1987), critically analyses this memoir, considering its relation to *MBC* and the myth of Eden. However, Hooton, in "Joe Wilson and the Angel in the Bush" (2000), writes that *CAB*, as well as the autobiographical accounts by Henry Lawson and Henry Handel Richardson, "lack the depth and power of their fictional predecessors and none has



achieved the same cultural importance” (67).

Brigitta Olubas’s article, “‘Infinite Rehearsal’ in the Work of Miles Franklin” (1989) connects the three texts and *Cockatoos* (1954) as they participate in “a process of re-reading” (37). The theory of “infinite rehearsal” was originally presented by Wilson Harris to read postcolonial texts: Wilson “highlights the importance of tradition, and the dismantling of tradition, in postcolonial writing; and in particular, it can alert us to the importance of *not* reading texts as if they come from nowhere, and lead nowhere” (37). Olubas argues that Franklin’s four texts create a sequence by obscuring the distinction between “fact” and “fiction” as the texts’ preface and cover notes relate. She sees each text as a “rehearsal” without any final performance and examines “parody” in *MBC* and *MCCGB*, concluding that the literary canon is rejected and the texts’ own tradition is constructed.

There are significant points in these diverse criticisms of Franklin’s texts which are germane to this thesis. First, the feminist critics’ investigations into comparisons between Franklin and women writers nationally and internationally legitimate this thesis as a feminist and comparative study. Henderson’s use of the new theory of gender as performance, to recognise Sybylla as constructing her own gender and genre demonstrates that *MBC* continues to appeal to contemporary readers. At the same time, my reading of Franklin, as well as Ichiyô, will be free from the masculinist construction of a “good book,” as Glen Thomas warns us.

The critical literature on Ichiyô’s writing is numerous, too. Here, I would like to examine briefly the reception of her diaries by traditional as well as feminist critics. At the end of *Complete Works of Ichiyô* [一葉全集] (1912) which include, for the first time, Ichiyô’s diaries, Baba Kochô writes:

I wonder if we, in publishing “the diaries,” may be trying to expose, ruthlessly, her secrets and disgrace her before the public. Maybe it is true or, it may be even crueler than that. However, we believe that Miss Ichiyô was an

outstanding woman. We consider that “the diaries” are among the most valuable of her writings. We couldn’t keep these diaries hushed up because they are amongst the most significant of her production and because they explain her personality most clearly. [「日記」を公にする私どもは、人の墓を暴いて屍を群衆の面前にさらすのと同じような残酷なことをやっているのではあるまいか。或いはそうかもしれない、イヤまだそれよりも酷なことに当るかもしれない。けれども、私どもは一葉君を優れた婦人であったと信じて居る。私どもは「日記」を一葉君の書き物のうちの最も重んずべきものの一と考える。私どもは、優れた婦人樋口一葉君の人物を最も明に説明すると同時に、一葉君の作物のうちで最も勝れたものの一である「日記」をただそのままに闇に葬って置くのは如何にも残念で堪らない。]

(306)

Wada analyses Kochô’s patronising critique, referring to the famous “diary literature” favoured by some Heian women and pointing to a link between Heian diaries and Ichiyô’s diaries in terms of the “confessional novel.” Wada asserts that the reason why Kochô decided to publish Ichiyô’s diaries is that he considered her diaries as a form of “confessional novel” (55-56).

On the other hand, Shimazaki Tôson, a poet and novelist, does not admit the literary merit of the diaries. He wrote in 1912:

Ichiyô was not distinctive as a thinker. Although the publication of her diaries revealed her difficult life and some interesting episodes, it also revealed, in part, her weakest point. What is art? What is love? Women of today are in an advantaged position when these questions are up for consideration. [一葉は物を考える人として特色のある人では無かった。一葉の日記を公にしたことは、彼女の困難な生涯と幾多の興味ある挿話とをあげてみせたには違いないが、一面においては、彼女の最も不得手なところを併せ開放した趣がある。芸術とは何ぞや。恋愛とは何ぞや。それらの問題を思考する上には今日の婦人は幾倍かの有利な立場に立っている。]

(262)

It seems that Tôson did not think that Ichiyô had insight into “art” and “love” which had become obsessions with modern writers.

Whether or not the diaries have high literary value, they are important for the analysis of Ichiyô as writer. However, Maeda Ai and Setouchi Harumi, in their informal discussion about Ichiyô, believe that Ichiyô might have expressed her true feelings in her fiction rather than in the diaries. Setouchi, a professional woman writer herself, points out that more women writers tend to “lie” or try to keep up appearances by hiding or exaggerating material in their diaries for publication (238-39). Seki Reiko writes that the diaries are where Ichiyô obtained the “technique” to express herself about the world (*The Time* 204).

Katsumoto Seiichirô, in “Ichiyô: ‘I Am Indeed a Woman’” [一葉: われは女なりけるものを] (1948), is one of the first critics to point to an important section in the diaries. That section talks about Ichiyô’s sense of emptiness despite the fame *Takekurabe* had brought; she writes: “I was sitting at a writing desk with my cheeks on my hands and pondering – I am indeed a woman. Even though there is something I want to do, it is difficult to carry it out” [しばし文机に頬づえつきておもへば、誠にわれは女成けるものを、何事のおもひありとて、そはなすべきことかは。] (3: 301-02 *Mizu no ue* [みづの上] 2 May 1896). Katsumoto argues, according to this passage, that Ichiyô both enjoyed and suffered for being a woman. He further contends that Ichiyô recognised all of her misfortunes as coming from her womanhood and that she could not see herself as a human being. His claim is that she could not notice problems of Meiji society and class relations because of her preoccupation with womanhood (81-84).

However, Seki Reiko, in “Ichiyô’s Writing Desk as a Space” [文机の空間] included in *Rereading Higuchi Ichiyô*, contends that Katsumoto “deforms” the content of the diaries. Seki links the diaries with the power of mass media, considering the complex process that Ichiyô’s diaries took to reach publication. Mass media represents the reader’s interest in the writer and the reader wants the diaries to provide an image of the writer. She also

argues that Ichiyô's writing desk, on which she rested, deep in thought, her cheeks on her hands, is a metaphor for her body and "a room of her own" where she writes. Therefore, Seki claims, Ichiyô's sense of solitude at this writing desk is not pessimistic (299).

I will refer to *Dictionary of Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉辞典] (1996), edited by Iwami et al., mainly for the brief summaries of criticisms of *Wakarejimo* [Parting in the Frost], *Utsusemi* [Empty Days], *Yamiyo* [Encounters on a Dark Night] and *Warekara* [Destructive Fate]. Then, I will discuss the conventional categorisation and assessment of Ichiyô's fictional works and how some contemporary critics have moved on from that convention.

*Wakarejimo* is one of Ichiyô's earliest works, serialised in *Kaishin Newspapers* in 1892 under her pseudonym, Asakano Numako. Ichiyô used the pseudonym since serial novelists were considered to be lowly. Shioda believes that Ichiyô's mentor, Nakarai Tôsui, checked the story and gave her advice (qtd in Iwami et al. 18). Although the process of Ichiyô's writing *Wakarejimo* and the meaning of the title have been investigated by Seki Ryôichi and others (17), the story itself has not attracted the critics' attention very much. However, some critics have pointed out the similarity between *Wakarejimo* and *Yuki no hi* [A Snowy Day] in the description of the two heroines' rickshaw journey on a snowy day (18). Though there is room for discussion about the style, my focus in Chapter two is the plot and characters, referring to Fujita Kazumi's "Self-Expression of Suicide" [白死の自己表現] included in *Rereading Higuchi Ichiyô*.

*Yamiyo* was first serialised in *The World of Literature* in 1895 and republished complete in *The Literary Club* in the same year. Contemporary reception of *Yamiyo* was adverse. It was called "dull and cryptic" [低調で不可解] (Iwami et al. 36). However, Ichiyô's close friends, such as Baba Kochô and Saitô Ryokuu, saw images of Ichiyô in the heroine, Oran (36). From the time that Seki Ryôichi recognised the socialist theme, that is, the protest against corrupt politics, in *Yamiyo* in 1944, critics have drawn more attention to *Yamiyo* as the turning point in Ichiyô's writing. Maeda points out the significance of *Yamiyo* in that the style in *Yamiyo* has relevance to that of *Takekurabe* (37). On the other

hand, Kitada Sachie, in “Woman Who Crosses the Border – Oran” [越境する女—お蘭] included in *Rereading Higuchi Ichiyô*, investigates its socialist theme from a feminist point of view.

*Utsusemi* was published in *Yomiuri Newspapers* in 1895. Because of ambiguities in the story, *Utsusemi* has not been regarded as “good” compared to Ichiyô’s other works. Arguing that the heroine, Yukiko, does not appeal to readers because of her madness, Fujii Kimiaki brands *Utsusemi* as a “complete failure” [完全な失敗作] in 1981 (qtd in Iwami et al. 55). However, critics such as Mitsutani in “‘Madness’ and the Absence of Adolescence” [狂気と青春不在], have interpreted those ambiguities and Yukiko’s madness positively and see the story itself in a new light (56).

*Warekara*, Ichiyô’s last work, prescribes the “ie” system most clearly. Takada Chinami’s investigation into the relationship between the “ie” system, the exceptional status of the female heir, and Ichiyô, is significant in this thesis.

There seems to be agreement, even among traditional critics, that *Warekara* and *Uramurasaki* [Reverse Purple] display a turning point in Ichiyô’s writing in that she became more aware of society and the rules that constricted women’s lives (Iwami et al. 82-83). However, analyses of *Warekara* and *Uramurasaki* have not been as numerous as analyses of her other works. This is perhaps the result of the pejorative assessment of *Warekara* by contemporary critics and the fact that *Uramurasaki* is unfinished.

According to male critics including the canonical writer, Mori Ôgai, who praised *Takekurabe* highly, *Warekara* is “a very inferior work” [一葉としては太く劣りたる作なり。] (qtd in Watanabe *Criticism* 47). Although there was some contemporary criticism that praised *Warekara* for its delineation of a woman’s tragic life (Iwami et al. 82), the severe remarks by Mori Ôgai prevailed. According to these, its failure lies in the division of the story into two parts. In particular, the “Mio story” is too long if “Machi story” is supposed to be the main story (81). Yuchi Takashi, who published the first Ichiyô criticism in book form in 1926, reassessed *Warekara*, he established another reading of the text from a

naturalist perspective. His claim is that Machi inherits her desire for adulterous relationship from her mother (Iwami et al. 82).

After the mid 1950s, critics started to see, in *Warekara*, Ichiyô's challenge to morality constricting women of Meiji. Yabu's appraisal of the work as one of Ichiyô's greatest achievements, in *Tôkoku, Tôson, and Ichiyô* [透谷・藤村・一葉] (1991) stimulated more thorough studies of *Warekara*. Watanabe Sumiko argues that Ichiyô attempted to reveal the oppressive nature of Meiji through the two women's stories. Watanabe, in agreeing with Yabu, claims that Machi does not commit adultery, rejecting the conventional interpretation (60-71).

In "'Warekara:' Yoshirô's Revenge" [「われから」：与四郎の復讐] first published in 1995 and included in his *The Depth of Modernity* [深層の近代] (2001), Yamada Yûsaku unites Mio's and Machi's stories through his analysis of Yoshirô, rather than splitting the text into two and focusing on Machi's story. Tomatsu Izumi, in "Criticism of 'Warekara:' Manifesting the World of the 'Novel'" [「われから」試論：＜小説＞的世界の顕現] (1995), interprets the destructive ending for Machi positively. However, Seki Reiko, in *The Time for Women to Narrate* (1997), asserts that Ichiyô is unsuccessful in her attempt to unify two important issues concerning women; Mio's desire and Machi's adultery (356-57).

The critics have established a hierarchy of Ichiyô's fictional works. Her earlier works tend to be collected together as too lyric, fanciful, figurative, or too dependent on classical literature and poetry. *Wakarejimo* belongs to this category. Although, as Yamada Yûsaku points out, *Wakarejimo* is somehow "different" [異質] (*Depth* 224) for its dramatic story line, it is still categorised as one of the "early works" [初期作品]. However, Yamada dismisses the early works, except *Umoregi* [In Obscurity], as "girls' stories" [少女小説] because they lack Ichiyô's "inner motif" [内的モチーフ] (230). Likewise, *Utsusemi* has not attracted the critics' attention despite the fact that it was written in Ichiyô's later years because of its "defects." This conventional classification or assessment is one of the hindrances to the development of criticism of these texts.

Matsusaka Toshio's categorisation of Ichiyô's heroines, another convention to determine the quality of her works, has been regarded as significant in Ichiyô scholarship. He categorises many of the heroines into two types. One is "the-beauty-in-the-valley type" [「谷中の美人」系], his own term. This type of the heroines, he argues, originates from images of Ichiyô's friend, Tanaka Minoko, and they share some patterns: orphans, single, formerly wealthy, and so on (*Study* 34-35). He calls the other type of the heroines as "'Nigorie' type" [「にごりえ」系] (32) based on images of Oriki, the heroine of *Nigorie* [Troubled Waters] that is Ichiyô's popular work. He argues that the stories, whose heroines belong to "the-beauty-in-the-valley" type, including *Yamiyo*, are simplistic and do not rise above the old-fashioned narrative form with allusions to classical poetry (50). On the other hand, "'Nigorie' type" heroines, including Machi in *Warekara* and Yukiko in *Utsusemi*, have more complex personalities and many of the stories of this type are regarded as Ichiyô's best works (50). But he recognises the realism in *Yamiyo* and notes the shift of narrative structure as many other critics also do (51).

However, some critics re-examine the texts themselves. Criticism of *Warekara* has proliferated recently, presenting different perspectives in the analyses. Among these critics are Yabu Teiko, Takada Chinami and Watanabe Sumiko. Nevertheless, Watanabe writes in her introductory comment to her article, "The New Step in Ichiyô's Writing" [一葉文学における新たな展開] included in her *Criticism of Modern Japanese Women's Writing* (1998): "It is true that *Warekara* is not a perfect story from an artistic point of view but we should consider Ichiyô's difficult situation in that she was already ill at the time of writing" [確かに芸術的完成度においてはいまひとつの恨みを残すが、それはすでに罹病していたという痛ましい状況であったことを考慮すべきだろう。] (47). This comment does not differ basically from the earliest criticism of *Warekara* as incomplete and inferior to other works. It is also parallel to Danly's: "This piece is riddled with inconsistencies [. . .] and concludes so abruptly that it cannot be accepted as a finished work. Ichiyô was already gravely ill by this time and plainly, she abandoned the effort, ending the story but not really completing

it” (306).

The story of *Yamiyo* is often considered to have a close relation with Ichiyô’s personal life, too. Shioda argues that Ichiyô’s “stagnation of ideas” [思想の低迷] (149) is found in *Kotonone* [The Sound of the Koto], *Hanagomori* [Clouds in Springtime] and *Yamiyo* because of her unstable life when writing them. Shioda writes that although her insight into realism was cultivated during her business life, this realism was put into practice in her writing six months after she quit the business. Therefore, these three stories are “inert” [惰性的]: *Yamiyo* was written two months after she quit the business, Shioda argues, and it should be identified with the other two (149). There seems an established positioning of the story as “Ichiyô’s desire for revenge” (Danly 82) based on her father’s failure in business which killed him and the betrayal by her fiancé, Shibuya Saburô.

Nevertheless, reading *Yamiyo* as the turning point of Ichiyô’s writing may be credible according to Kitada Sachie in her feminist rereading of *Yamiyo* (79-80). Kitada does not disagree with the relation between the story and Ichiyô’s life in terms of “revenge” (90). However, rather than being inquisitive about Ichiyô’s personal life, Kitada builds persuasive arguments to make this “turning point” a feminist one, not confined to conventional judgements of the text. Likewise, Watanabe’s discussion of *Warekara* does not conform to a traditional reading. Most importantly, Yabu Teiko’s positive interpretation of *Warekara* as Ichiyô’s greatest achievement is a significant critical feat (Iwami et al. 84).

Yabu’s “Formation and Development of Ichiyô’s Literature” [一葉文学の成立と展開], first published in 1979 and included in her *Tôkoku, Tôson and Ichiyô* (1991), features images of the “evil” [魔] and “madness” [狂] in Ichiyô’s writing. Yabu considers *Hanagomori* and *Yamiyo* as the turning point of Ichiyô’s writing from a feminist perspective. Yabu rejects Matsusaka’s categorisation and argues that her own chronological categorisation is more “practical” [実質的] (274). She argues that these stories represent Ichiyô’s relationship with a strange man, Kusaka Yoshitaka. Yabu’s



categorisation overturned Matsusaka's and provided a new and different perspective to the linking of Ichiyô's life with her writing.

While not denying the influence of her private life upon her fictional works, I wish to read *Wakarejimo*, *Yamiyo*, *Utsusemi* and *Warekara*, as well as the diaries, as individual texts regardless of the convention of their "inferiority." I chose these particular texts because of their themes and use of metaphor, not because they were neglected by conventional critics.

Ichiyô criticism is voluminous but almost all isolate her as a special case, a high position unattainable by other women writers. Feminist criticism has established an alternative tradition, "inclusive" of other women writers who share her experiences and struggles. It has overturned many standard "masculinist" readings. Although international comparison with Ichiyô is sparse, I can confidently align Franklin and Ichiyô using the methods and views of various feminist literary critics.

Feminist revaluation of women's literature has been lively both in Japan and Australia. These are attempts by feminist critics to challenge male-centred interpretation and unite the experiences and themes of women writers rather than rank them according to "isms" and techniques. Ichiyô and Franklin have also been re-evaluated. Observing Ichiyô as a woman has enabled feminist critics to comment on other women, particularly other Meiji women and has broadened the scope of understanding the women characters in her stories. If Franklin and others had not received the attention of feminist critics, their letters, topical writings and "secrets" would not have been published decades after their death. Feminism has therefore brought neglected women writers into the public domain again, as well as liberated them from categorisation of traditional, male-centred criticism.

## Chapter 2: Women as Birds

In this chapter, I will focus on Ichiyô's and Franklin's use of metaphor and particularly, images of birds. Their descriptions of birds are diverse, of course, as are their meanings.

But there are parallels between them: I will argue that birds are often metaphors for women. What are the meanings suggested by the images of birds? What are the differences or similarities in the uses between Ichiyô's and Franklin's images?

Investigating bird/s as a metaphor for women will enable me to comment on the positioning of the women characters, not only within the texts but also in the light of wider contexts. I will confine my analysis to *MBC* (1901), *MCGB* (1946) and *CAB* (1963) by Franklin, in which there are thematic and intertextual links. I will read Ichiyô's *Wakarejimo* [Parting in the Frost] (1892) and look closely at an event recorded in her diaries in which she visits a stranger, a man, who practiced as a fortune-teller. They are the only writings of Ichiyô that contain metaphorical uses of bird imagery which, symbolising women, have significance in broader contexts outside the texts.

For my discussion of bird imagery in Ichiyô's texts, I will also look at illustrations displayed in the literary magazine, *The Literary Club* [文芸倶楽部] (1895-1933), in December 1895. The December special issue features women writers, including Ichiyô, and displays their photographs adding pictures of birds in the middle, which were attractions for readers. Attending to the fact that the publishers used the same design to introduce some geisha and prostitutes in the following issue, I will argue that women writers are equated with those prostitutes. Further, we will see that prostitutes in Yoshiwara, the licensed pleasure quarter in Tokyo, were actually called birds, indicating their dehumanised status. In Franklin's writing, images of birds have various meanings. Seeing the three texts as intertexts, I will identify these various images, used as metaphors for women, carefully and discover that some of the images are relevant to one another. I will argue that investigating bird imagery will reveal an important aspect of

Franklin's writing career. Birds are not only simply a symbol of the Australian nature but also a symbol of her feminism, which constructs an image of Franklin as a writer.

Bird imagery similar to that used by Ichiyô and Franklin, has also been used by writers in a recognisable tradition of literary works dealing with the social and political position of women from the late eighteenth to twentieth centuries. Among them are Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-97), Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), Kate Chopin (1851-1904), Susan Glaspell (1876-1948), Ôtsuka Kusuoko (1875-1910), Miyamoto Yuriko (1899-1951), and Ariyoshi Sawako (1931-84). A brief survey of this tradition would include the following examples.

Wollstonecraft, a pioneer feminist critic and writer, uses bird images for women's confined situation in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, first published in 1798. She writes:

Confined, then, in cages like the feathered race, they have nothing to do but to plume themselves, and stalk with mock majesty from perch to perch. It is true they are provided with food and raiment, for which they neither toil nor spin; but health, liberty, and virtue are given in exchange. (70)

Nora, in Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, first published in 1879, is called "my little skylark" (2) and "my little squirrel" (2, 3) by her husband, Torvald, showing that he expects her to please him like a caged bird or a little animal. This is evident in his very first utterance when she returns home from Christmas shopping.

HEL. [*calls out from his office*]. Is that my little lark twittering out there?

NORA. [*busy opening some of the parcels*]. Yes, it is!

HEL. Is it my little squirrel bustling about?

NORA. Yes!

HEL. When did my squirrel come home? (1-2; act. 1)

Nora chirps and sings so that her master/husband feeds her and gives her money. Although Ibsen is not a woman writer, it is important to recognise the impact of *A Doll's House* in

various countries, including Australia and Japan.<sup>2</sup>

Chopin's last and most controversial novel, *The Awakening*, first published in 1899, opens with the cries of a mimetic parrot, which may signify the self-abnegation of the heroine, Edna, in the home. But she attempts to be a bird with strong wings, to dare and defy social conventions. The last vision that Edna sees is: "A bird with a broken wing was beating the air above, reeling, fluttering, circling disabled down, down to the water" (175) and she apparently drowns herself in the sea.

In *A Jury of Her Peers*, published in 1917, by Susan Glaspell, a bird, a caged canary, is an important motif concerning Minnie Foster's murder of her husband. Minnie used to be "[r]eal sweet and pretty, but kind of timid and – fluttery" (106) but the canary is killed by her husband who hated "a thing that sang" (108). The caged canary is a symbol of Minnie who used to sing but is now confined to marriage by her austere husband.

"Separated Lovebirds [離鴛鴦]" by Ôtsuka Kusuoko was published in 1902. Ôtsuka is contemporary with Ichiyô and depicts the eighteen-year-old heroine, Senko, who is happily married to her well-established husband. However, she is fearful of Rurie, beautiful, wealthy and admired, whose voice is like a warbler's (278), because her husband refused Rurie's proposal and, instead, married her. She almost worships Rurie but grows nervous about Rurie's divine existence and her unvoiced jealousy. Senko is finally separated from her husband because of her nerves. As the title indicates, Senko and her husband are the lovebirds: even though they are separated, she is confined to the lonely house and to herself. On the other hand, Rurie goes to Europe to study.

Miyamoto Yuriko, who was born three years after Ichiyô's death and was active in proletarian literature, compares her heroine, in *Nobuko* [伸子], first published in 1928, with a Chinese hawk-cuckoo that comes back to the cage after being set free. But the heroine, unlike the cuckoo, eventually leaves her husband:

Cocking its head and looking at the way out of the cage, it jumped back into it again [. . .] 'Ah, even a bird comes back – but you ... you ...' With a sense of

bitterness, Nobuko averted her eyes from the bird. It would be unbearable to be a tame bird, she thought. [頭を傾け、傾け、破られた網の口を見ていたが、ちょいと跳んでまた元の籠に入ってしまった。(….)「ああ、ああ、鳥でさえ帰って来るのに — ……君は……君は……」]

苦々しい心が湧き、伸子は目を逸した。飼鳥になつては堪らない。そういう心持がした。] (Miyamoto 386; Tazaki trans. 68)

In *The Twilight Years* [恍惚の人], published in 1972, by Ariyoshi Sawako, who was a leading modern Japanese writer, the caged bunting is identified with Shigezô, Akiko's father-in-law who suffers from senile dementia. As her son, Satoshi, observes, Shigezô is an animal and Akiko is the master (128-29). However, Akiko realises that this caged bunting is, in fact, the symbol of herself who had to stay home to look after Shigezô until his death, when Satoshi talks to her after Shigezô's funeral. This is the very end of the story.

When Akiko realised that she had forgot to cover the cage of the bunting for the night and rose, Satoshi finally spoke behind her.

"Mum, we could have let him live a little longer, couldn't we?"

Akiko felt as if the inside of her head was an vacuum. Of course, she could not reply and she was absorbed in covering the birdcage with the black wrapping cloth. [...] Akiko flopped down with the birdcage in her arms. The bunting fluttered and groaned a little. In that moment, tears streamed down but she did not realise that she was crying for a few minutes. She stayed sitting there, for a long time, holding the birdcage in her arms. [昭子がホオジロの籠に夜の掩いをかけ忘れてるのに気がついて立上ったとき、やっと敏が昭子の背後で口をきいた。]

「ママ、もうちょっと生かしといてもよかったね」

昭子は自分の頭の中がまるで真空のように感じているのを感じた。もちろん返事などできなかったから、夢中で鳥籠に木綿の黒っぽい風呂敷をかぶせていた。(….)

昭子は鳥籠をかかえたままぺたんと坐り、すると昭子の胸でホオジロが羽をばたつかせ、ちょっとうめいた。その拍子に涙が眼から噴きこぼれたが、自分が泣いていることに気がついたのはそれから数分後のことだった。昭子は鳥籠を抱きしめ、いつまでもそうして坐っていた。 ] (349)

Susan Gardner, in “*My Brilliant Career: Portrait of the Artist as a Wild Colonial Girl*” (1985), which I will refer to in my argument of Franklin’s bird imagery, mentions Ellen Moers who has proposed bird imagery as “one of women writers’ most frequent and ambivalent symbols” (33) in *Literary Women* (1976). Moers is one of the few critics who examines bird imagery as a universal metaphor in women’s writing at any length, though her discussion is limited within traditions of British and American literature. Moers attempts to interpret various uses of bird imagery by women writers and poets who “use [birds] to stand in, metaphorically, for their own sex” (245). My purpose in this chapter is to include Ichiyô and Franklin in this tradition as well as investigating the distinctiveness of their own images of birds. I believe that their comparison becomes more convincing and will provide a foundation for further comparisons with other women writers.

### **Ichiyô and Bird Imagery**

Many of references to birds in Ichiyô’s writing, fiction, diaries and essays, are traditional. Birds appear frequently in scenery, especially in the portrayal of spring or beauty. For example, “a song of a bush warbler heard for the first time” [鶯の初音] is recorded in her diaries as the symptom of the spring (3: 67 *Nikki* 2 [につ記 二] 18 Feb. 1892; 147 *Yomogifu nikki* [よもぎふ日記] 5 Mar. 1893). Birds are also included in allusions to classical poetry, proverbs and poetry that Ichiyô and others made. “Skylarks in the morning” [朝雲雀] (76 *Nikki* [日記] 17 Mar. 1892), “bush warblers in the field” [野鶯] (72 *Nikki* 2 9 Mar. 1892) and “geese going home in the evening” [夜帰雁] (83 *Nikki* 5 Apr.

1892) are among the titles of poetry that Ichiyô wrote at *Haginoya* [Bush-Clover Cabin]. In addition, two of Ichiyô's essays are titled "Sounds of Geese" [雁がね] and "Little Cuckoos" [ほととぎす].<sup>3</sup> "Sounds of Geese" depicts Ichiyô's being sensitive to pathos of life by observing the geese as lonely. "Little Cuckoos" describes her enthusiasm for and joy in the songs of little cuckoos.<sup>4</sup> Birds as a part of nature symbolise her commitment to poetry, admiration for the beauty of nature and her view of life. However, in this chapter, I will concentrate on Ichiyô's use of bird/s as a metaphor for women.<sup>5</sup>

In *Wakarejimo* [Parting in the Frost], the Matsuzawa and the Nitta families both run fabric shops for kimono and Yoshinosuke from Matsuzawa and Otaka from Nitta are happily engaged. But Otaka's father and the chief clerk, Kanzô, plot the bankruptcy of the Nitta. Yoshinosuke, living in a row house with his parents, becomes a rickshaw man. He abhors the Nitta and even Otaka. One day, in her dream, Otaka pleads against Yoshinosuke's assumption that she also resents her father and she tells him: "Though not tethered, I am nothing less than a caged bird" [繋がれねど身は籠の鳥も同じこと] (1: 27).

Otaka happens to catch the rickshaw that Yoshinosuke drives and persuades him that she did not know about her father's plot. Although the narrator does not clarify the detail of that night, their sexual association is implied in Otaka's assertion that "I have a husband [Yoshinosuke] to whom I have given myself" [現在ゆるせし良人ある身] (48). However, realising the difficulty of reconciliation of the two families, they try to commit double suicide but Otaka is rescued by Kanzô and only Yoshinosuke dies. Then, Otaka is placed under the more severe surveillance:

Her six-tatami mat room turns into a prison. The nurse keeps a close eye even on the opening and closing of the sliding door. Besides, Kanzô carefully watches her. If she were a flying bird, she could escape but there is no chance.

[(. . .) 六畳敷の我が部屋をその儘の座敷牢縁。縁の障子の開閉にも、乳母が見張りの目は離れず、況してや勘蔵が注意周到、つばさあらば知らぬこと、飛ぶ鳥ならぬ身に何方ぬけ出ん隙もなし。] (55)

Now she has been “a caged bird” [籠中の鳥] (57) for seven years. But she succeeds in escaping one night and disappears with the resolution to die.

Obviously, in *Wakarejimo*, the “caged bird” metaphor is used to signify, three times, Otaka’s confinement. Although this cage is not marriage, it is clear that she is “caged” by men, i.e. her father and the chief clerk, Kanzô. As Fujita Kazumi points out, Otaka attempts to flee from her father’s “ie” but accepts Yoshinosuke’s “ie” without question. Otaka’s desire for death is provoked by the refusal of his father (36). Fujita argues that Otaka is bound to a Confucian tenet of women’s obligation to their fathers-in-law (32). It is symbolic that Otaka escapes from her father’s cage and becomes sexually involved with Yoshinosuke, indicating that her awakening to sexuality has liberated her from this cage. Yet, failing to die, she is again incarcerated in the cage of her father’s “ie.” When she escapes from this cage, she longs for the spiritual union with Yoshinosuke:

Who made the perpetual pledge? The wind through the pines will be still  
refreshing after one thousand years. The moon will light up the green grasses  
with no blood and the sad colour of the dried frost. There is no enmity upon  
the hill of the lovebirds. [替らぬ契りの誰れなれや、千年の松風颯々として、血汐は  
残らぬ草葉の緑と枯れわたる霜の色、かなしく照らし出だす月一片、何の恨みや弔ふ  
らん、此处鴛鴦の塚の上に] (59)

Otaka and Yoshinosuke are identified as “lovebirds” [鴛鴦]. “The hill of the lovebirds” [鴛鴦の塚] is a traditional expression, meaning the grave of suicide lovers (Maeda and Noguchi 1: 59). Now, both Otaka and Yoshinosuke are birds, implying that they are both “caged” in the notion of the “ie.” Further, Otaka is now “caged” to ideal marriage as wife. Death does not so much liberate her as confine her to the “ie” ideally, therefore, eternally.

In Ichiyô’s diaries, bird imagery appears in a record of her visit to a wealthy fortuneteller by the name of Kusaka Yoshitaka on 23 February, 1894. She meets Kusaka in his office and there is a short man of about forty whose voice is quiet but powerful (Maeda and Noguchi 3: 234 *Nikki Chiri no naka* [日記 ちりの中]).<sup>6</sup> She starts talking:



First of all, [. . .] I must apologize for barging in on you without an introduction. And second, I'm afraid what I want to say may sound improper from a young woman. I hope it won't offend you. I know that you're a man with a big heart, accustomed to dealing with the most difficult matters. Please don't be impatient with me if my words sound foolish, or crude. You see, I am one of those people living in the dust of the back street. But I've come here in good faith, and I hope you will listen – I'd be much obliged if you would give me your advice. Sometimes I feel like a wounded bird searching for a breast to nestle in. I go on and on, wandering and wandering. Ah, but Mr. Kusaka!

Yours is a breast for sheltering – a good, strong breast – a tree of refuge for a lost bird. So I wondered, would you listen to my story? [先は、ことに先だちて申すべきは、をしかけに参ての罪あさからざると、女子の身にてきまりをこえ、のりのほかにはしり、あと聞給ひては、『ものぐるはし』とやおほし給はん。それには故あり、もとあり。天地をおさめ給らんとおもふそのひろやかなる御胸のうちに、愚言の愚なる、卑言のさもしきも捨て給はず、愛憎好悪さまさまの塵あくたの外に埋もれながら、一筋きえぬ誠のこころを聞しめして、おぼしめし給ふ処を仰せ給はらば、嬉しかるべし。我れはまことに窮鳥の飛入るべきふところなくして、宇宙の間にさまよふ身に侍る。あはれ広き御むねは、うちにやどるべきとまり木もや。] (3: 234; Danly 102)

Thus, Ichiyô eloquently narrates her life, emphasising her femaleness, so that Kusaka will commiserate with her situation.

At this time in her life, Ichiyô ran a small general store near Yoshiwara. Her mother despised the idea of the family's reducing themselves to merchants, who were the lowest of the four social ranks of Japanese feudal society. But Ichiyô and her sister, Kuniko, persuaded their mother that it was necessary for their survival. They gave up the business after nine months because of new competitors and also because they were tired of it. At first, the business looked successful but they were amateurs after all. Their financial

situation did not improve even during their business life and Ichiyô had to make New Year's visits to friends and acquaintances to ask for loans on 2 February 1894; on 23 of the same month, she visited Kusaka. It seems that her idea of visiting Kusaka was provoked by this desperate financial situation although she does not explain, in her diaries, how she came to know his name or why she chose him. All she writes is that:

I recklessly abandoned my own self in this weary world. It depends on myself in which currents to throw myself in. If so, I would rather have an amusing life by relying on someone who has education, power and money and manage to ride out the troubled waves of life courageously. [うきよに捨ものの一身を、何処の流にか投げこむべき。学あり、力あり、金力ある人によりて、おもしろく、をかしく、さわやかに、いさましく、世のあら波をこき渡らん (...)] (231 *Chiri no naka nikki* [塵中日記] 23 Feb. 1894)

Various critics have assumed that her desire for money might have been one of the main factors behind her decision to visit Kusaka; however, her psychological state, revealed in the diary entries, looks far more complex. It seems that a life of destitution reduced her gentility and that she became apathetic about her own life. Yet, it is difficult to be accurate about her visit to Kusaka if we rely only on the diaries. That is why this incident in her life, as recorded in her diaries, has attracted critics' attention.

Many critics have tried to analyse Ichiyô's visit to Kusaka, focusing on whether or not Ichiyô slept with Kusaka for money, and they speculate what "really" happened. Yanagida Izumi assumes, in a discussion with two other famous Ichiyô scholars in 1959, that Ichiyô should have known of Kusaka's notoriety as a seducer of women (Yanagida, Katsumoto and Wada 106). Another discussant, Wada Yoshie, even suggests that Ichiyô might have fabricated the entire incident, interpreting her diary as a creative work (106). However, their discussion focuses mainly on Ichiyô's use of the false name, "Akizuki," at Kusaka's office and her desperation for money, and is inconclusive on the matter of sexual relationship between them.

Some critics cannot cope with Ichiyô's receiving financial assistance from both her mentor, Nakarai Tôsui, and Kusaka. There are records from Kusaka's side (Setouchi and Maeda 235) and Tôsui's side (Shioda 208) that confirm Ichiyô's receipt of such money. Wada, acknowledging these records, writes that Ichiyô betrayed her mentor, Tôsui, implying she had left him for Kusaka because Tôsui's mentoring did not lead her to financial success (198-99). Wada sympathises with Kusaka, as a man, asserting that it was natural for him to ask Ichiyô to be his mistress since she tried to flirt with him (247). On the other hand, Shioda, despite the records, firmly believes that Ichiyô was a virgin and writes "Kusaka's bargaining point must not have been met" [久佐賀の交換条件は満たされたとは思われない。] (189-90). In this way, critics interpret Ichiyô's visit to Kusaka according to their own characterisation of Ichiyô and her life and the discussion tends to become concerned with Ichiyô's sexual morality rather than with her actions as a writer.

Women critics have tried to see the incident from a different, though sometimes still subjective, point of view. In fact, more women critics admit that Ichiyô might have had sexual relationships than some male critics (Matsusaka "Mysterious Parts" 124) who tend to idealise the virgin Ichiyô. For example, disguising herself as Ichiyô and narrating Ichiyô's life subjectively, Nishikawa Yûko asserts that Ichiyô "loved" both Tôsui and Kusaka (194). Setouchi Harumi more boldly refers to Ichiyô's sexual life: "I think that Kusaka might be physically better for Ichiyô than Nakarai Tôsui and that because of Kusaka, she might have been awakened to sexuality" [(...) 半井桃水よりも久佐賀のほうが肉体的に一葉にはよかったんじゃないかと思うんです。久佐賀によって一葉は性に目覚めたんじゃないか。] (Setouchi and Maeda 235-36).

Unlike Nishikawa and Setouchi, Yabu Teiko and Kan Satoko analyse Ichiyô's encounter with Kusaka from a feminist viewpoint. Yabu argues that Ichiyô, meeting Kusaka, discovered her suppressed self deriving from her sexuality and that this discovery matches the significant turning point of Ichiyô's writing in *Hanagomori* [Clouds in Springtime] (*Tôkoku* 266-73). Similarly, Kan writes:

Although not famous, Ichiyô had published several stories by the time she met Kusaka. But the fact is that, for him, she was nothing but a sexual being.

Through the involvement with him, Ichiyô became aware of the reality of herself as a “woman” – a subject of sexual desires. [有名でないとはいえ、すでに数編の小説を発表している自分が、久佐賀にとっては性的存在として以上には何らの価値ももたないという事実。久佐賀とのかかわりを通じて一葉は、あらためて現実というもの、そして「女」である自分—性的欲望の対象としての自分—というものを思い知ったに違いない。] (147)

A focus on Ichiyô’s symbolisation of herself as a bird will allow a wider discussion.

It is then pertinent to look at her fluent and powerful utterance after her introduction to Kusaka. Kusaka, interested in her story, encouraged her to continue:

“I lost my father six years ago. Since then I have been drifting on the rough waves of uncertainty. One day I am swept to the east; another day, tossed to the west. Yesterday I lived above the clouds, aloft from the worries of the world in a realm of moonbeams and flowering cherries. Today I live in the dirt, with an aging mother and a helpless younger sister to support. Until last year, at any rate, I lived like any other woman.

“Please listen carefully, Mr. Kusaka: in this floating world of ours, no one cares about anybody else. I used to believe in other people. I actually thought it was possible to improve the world. But I was too naive, I deceived myself. Time and again those I trusted disappointed me, and now I don’t have much faith in anything. One morning I had my eyes opened; I started to wander like a lost bird, to know hardships most people never experience. I learned how uncertain life is. I gave up on the world. Now I live in a corner of Shitaya. I opened a little shop – you can hardly call it a business – and I put all my hopes in it. But why is it nothing ever works out? It’s all I can do to provide my poor old mother with a daily scrap of food; you don’t know how this upsets my

sister and me.

“After a while, one simply gives up. I really don’t know what is to become of us. I feel so sorry for my mother! Myself, I don’t mind suffering for a moment. I’m ready to start taking risks. I thought I would try speculating. But I don’t have the means to go about it. When you’re as poor as I am, there’s not one sen to spare. Then I hit upon the idea of discussing it with you. After all, they say even a hunter doesn’t kill a wounded bird that flies to him for refuge. And you, with your wisdom, and your great charity, helping so many people overcome their suffering – I thought I would come to you for advice. How about it, Mr. Kusaka? Please tell me if you have any ideas. You *do* understand my desperate situation?” [我身、父をうしなひてことし六年、うきよのあら波にただよひて、昨日は東、今日はにし、あるは雲上の月花にまじはり、或は地下の塵芥にまじはり、老たる母、世のことしらぬいもとを抱きて、先こぞまでは女子らしき世をへにき。聞たまへ、先生。うきよの人に情はなかりけるものを、わがこころよりつくり出たのもしき人とたのみ、にごれるよをも清める物とおもひて、我れにあざむかれてここに誠を尽しにき。一朝まなこの覚めぬるは我が宇宙にさよまふのはじめにして、人しらぬくるしみ此時より身にまつはりぬ。あえなく、はかなく、浅ましき物とおもひ捨てて、今は下谷の片ほとりに、あきなひといふもふさはしかるまじきいささか成る小店を出して、ここを一身のとまりと定むれど、なぞや、うきよのくるしみのかくて免がるべきに非らず、老たる母に朝四暮三のはかなきものさへすすめ難くて、我がはらからの侘び合へるはこれのみ。すでに浮世に望みは絶えぬ、此身ありて何にかはせん、いとをしとをしむは親の為のみ。さらば一身をいけにゑにして、運を一時のあやふきにつけ、相場といふこと為し而見ばや。されども、貧者一銭の余裕なくして、我が力にて我がことを為すに難く、おもひつきたるは先生のもと也。窮鳥ふところに入たる時ばかり人もとらずとかや。天地のことはりをあきらめて、広く慈善の心をもて万人の痛苦をいやし給はんの御本願に、思し当ることあらば教へ給へ。いかにや先生、物ぐるはしきこころのもと末、御むねの内に入りたりや、いかに] (234-35;

Danly 102-03)

Kusaka then tried to discourage Ichiyô from speculation, while Ichiyô tried to persuade him to lend her money. All in all, they talked over various matters and their talk extended for four whole hours (237).

Danly has modified the original Japanese in his English translation in order to clarify specific Japanese expressions and contexts for the English reader. The word Ichiyô uses in her talk with Kusaka, “kyûchô” [窮鳥], literally means “a bird that is hunted down and has its escape cut off,” but I think Danly’s translation of “a wounded bird” is appropriate. On the other hand, Ichiyô does not refer to “a lost bird” which Danly seems to add to make the context more clear. Where he refers to “a lost bird,” which appears twice in the quotations above, Ichiyô actually talks about “the universe.” “I am drifting in the space of the universe” [宇宙の間にさまよふ身に侍る] and “I started wandering in the universe” [我が宇宙にさよまふのはじめにして]. Danly expresses well Ichiyô’s unstable situation by supplying the phrase, “like a lost bird.”

I focus on the meaning of “kyûchô,” rather than Danly’s words, “like a lost bird,” and the subsequent proverb about “kyûchô.” “Even a hunter doesn’t kill a wounded bird that flies to him for refuge.” In addition to the financial distress, Ichiyô might have felt solitary in the merciless world. One night in late autumn 1894, after she and her family quit the business and moved, she saw a crow on the branch of the pine. She even tried to talk to the crow, asking if the crow was alone and had any families.<sup>7</sup> It seems that she identified with this solitary crow as she felt lonely, in the continuous poverty and under pressure as the family head.<sup>8</sup> “Kyûchô” also represents Ichiyô’s obsession with solitude as her decision to see Kusaka seems her own according to the diaries and she emphasises her hardships in looking after her family in her conversation with him. However, “kyûchô” also embraces an image of Ichiyô who is feminine, fragile and vulnerable in order to appeal to Kusaka more effectively. As Yabu writes: “Ichiyô must have known what the man would require of the woman who was poor and appeared looking for shelter like a

wounded bird” [貧しいまま「窮鳥ふところに入る」の感じで目の前に現れた女に、男が何を求めるかを、一葉が知らなかったわけではない。] (*Tôkoku* 269).

As a result, however, Kusaka understood Ichiyô's plea as an offer to be his mistress and did not show any hesitation in asking, in letters, for her body in exchange for money.

Ichiyô reproduces Kusaka's letter in her diaries:

I understand that you are in great difficulty because you devote yourself to the study of poetry, which I recognise as my own experiences and I am very sorry for you. I will be in charge of the cost of your living until you achieve results. However, it feels a little strange that I am asked from you such matters, and you must feel the same to ask me that after only one acquaintance. So, then, will you give yourself to me completely? [君が歌道熱心の為に、しか困苦せさせ給ふさまの、我一身にもくらべられていと憐なれば、その成業の暁までの事は、我れに於て、いかにも為して引受べし。され共、ただ一面の機識のみにて、かかる事を『たのまれぬ』とも、『たのみたり』ともいふは、君にしても心ぐるしかるべきに、いでや、その一身をここもとにゆだね給はらずや] (250 *Mizu no ue nikki* [水の上日記] 9 June 1894)

She became furious at reading this letter:

How on earth does that outrageous man consider my true nature? I lament over the world degenerating gradually and attempt to light a ray of light in order to save this world. How can I violate my chastity that is most valuable and precious for women only to escape from the immediate difficulty? [そもや、かのしれ物、わが本性をいかに見けるにかあらん。世のくだれるをなげきて、ここに一道の光をおこさんところざす我れにして、唯目の前の苦をのがるるが為に、婦女の身として尤も尊ぶべきこの操をいかにして破らんや。] (250-51)

And then, she replied, derisively, that she would never give herself to him: “If you consider me as a mere woman and think about strange and shameful things, you had better give me a flat refusal” [われを女と見て、あやしき筋になど思し給はらば、むしろ一言にことは

り給はんにはしかず。】(251).

Ichiyô did not write much more about Kusaka in her diaries; in particular, there is no mention of the fact that Kusaka, as well as Tôsui, gave her money. Moreover, according to the actual letters exchanged between Ichiyô and Kusaka and some brief records in the diaries, they met several times after. In fact, in one letter, she requested one thousand yen<sup>9</sup> from him. Nevertheless, I emphasise that Ichiyô refused the sexual contract that Kusaka offered despite the fact that in the system of concubinage the sexual contract was commonplace and that mentoring sometimes involved a sexual relationship.<sup>10</sup> Although Ichiyô might have hoped that Kusaka would lend her money without demanding her body and was disappointed by the reality, she did not capitulate to that convention. At least, she recorded that she did not.

Ichiyô's use of the phrase, "a wounded bird," is thus significant regarding Kusaka's response to this appeal. We do not know Ichiyô's intention as to whether or not she had considered the possibility of becoming Kusaka's mistress by emphasising her femininity in the bird image. However, the diaries, whose records may reflect her emotional response, inform us that she chooses sexual independence over the convention of concubinage.

Now, I will look closely at bird imagery used in one of the literary magazines in the Meiji Japan, *The Literary Club* [文芸倶楽部], in December 1895. *The Literary Club* was one of the leading literary magazines in Meiji and the publishers, Hakubunkan run by Ôhashi Otowa, were influential, too. Under the auspices of Hakubunkan and *The Literary Club*, many writers, including Ichiyô, played active roles in the Meiji literary world. Ichiyô published several works in *The Literary Club* and, in the December special issue, she published *Jûsan'ya* [The Thirteenth Night] and republished *Yamiyo* [Encounters on a Dark Night]. This special issue of December 1895 featured women writers and provides a cultural context for her use of bird imagery. The issue became a success and sold 30000 copies immediately (Maeda and Noguchi 3: 297 *Mizu no ue* [水のうへ] 7 Jan. 1896). This is probably because of the photographs of these women writers, including Ichiyô, in the



magazine. The pictures of birds are placed in the middle and the faces of women writers are around the birds.

In the very next issue, these women writers are equated, by the publishers, with currently popular geisha and prostitutes, who were introduced in the nearly same composition: photographs of women around a large picture of a bird in the middle. Moreover, the magazine, from about the eleventh issue, had started to provide the pictures of notable beauties, often geisha or prostitutes, as well as scenic sites, shrines and temples (Copeland 262). Those women, as well as women writers, scenic beauties and birds are identified in terms of the object of the predominantly male audience's gaze and interest. I reproduce these illustrations, photographs of women writers and prostitutes with pictures of birds, in the next pages.

There is an explanation as to why Ichiyô gave her photograph to the magazine. The publishers had told her that Miyake Kaho, her predecessor as a professional woman writer and her rival, also gave them a photograph of herself but in fact, Kaho gave them her calligraphy instead. Seki Reiko suggests a curious explication of the difference between picture and calligraphy in terms of the implications to the readers. The former is associated with boldness while the latter is associated with refinement; in other words, "a woman writer like a prostitute" and "ladylike writer" (*Sister's* 135-36). "A woman writer like a prostitute" was a ploy to attract more readers. The connotation of this bird imagery is "beauty;" that is to say, "these women are as beautiful and graceful as these birds." However, the further implication is that of a sexuality common to prostitutes and women writers. In her discussion of these illustrations, Copeland also points out that the magazine implies "a woman who sells her fiction is little more than a woman for sale" (*Lost Leaves* 221) and that "[a]s much as the prostitute is a creation of male desire, so the woman writer found herself compelled to conform to male assumptions" (224).

One of Ichiyô's friends, Seki Nyorai, a male journalist of *Yomiuri Newspapers*, wrote her an angry letter dated on 14 December 1895 in which he accused her of giving



Photographs of Women Writers and the Picture of a Bird, *The Literary Club* [文芸倶楽部], the special issue of December 1895; rpt. in Rebecca Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2000) 218. Ichiyô's photo is lower left.



Photographs of Notable Beauties and the Picture of a Bird, *The Literary Club*, in the issue of 20 December 1895; rpt. in Rebecca Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2000) 223.

her picture to the publishers.

Unlike the other writers, I expected you to flatly refuse, like Kaho did. But I was very surprised that your photo appeared. Isn't it the lack of insight as a novelist and, to some extent, as a moralist of society? Hakubunkan, wanting to sell, can be forgiven because they are merchants but how can we condone novelists who let this happen in the light of their spirit and insight? [余人は知らず大姉においては花圃女史共々断然拒否遊ばされ候御事とかねて拝察いたし候ひしに図らざりき大姉のも亦掲げありしよし 実に驚入候 かかる事は小説家としてまた或る意味においては社会の警醒家として識見に欠くる処は無く候や 売らんとする博文館は商売人根性として或はゆるすべきも、之を許せし小説家は精神上、識見の点において如何あるべきか] (qtd in Nishikawa 210)

Seki Nyorai admired Ichiyô as the prominent woman writer next in line to Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shônagon, or as the counterpart of George Eliot and George Sand (Nishikawa 209). Therefore, he became incensed that she presented her photo like geisha and prostitutes who did not have any shame at showing their appearance for money. In other words, he thought Ichiyô was debased to the level of prostitutes. His response is actually the evidence that some readers identified women writers and prostitutes by these illustrations of birds.

A commonality between women writers and prostitutes is the fact that they are both professionals. As Seki writes: "Prostitution, concubinage, marriage – it is no exaggeration to say that women could choose from only these three" [花柳界・妾・結婚、女が選ぶことができたのは、この三つであったといっても過言ではないだろう。] (*Sister's* 75). Agreeing with Seki, I see women writers and prostitutes as professionals. Prostitutes sell their performances and bodies while women writers sell their writings. The commonality between these two "professions," is men's desire for their femininity. The illustrations evince this point. Just like prostitutes who entertain men with their performances and bodies, so the writings of those women writers are defined within what men think of as entertainment. Because they

remain under men's authority, these two kinds of professional women are accepted in Meiji society. In other words, those images suggest that in order to have their employment tolerated by society, women have to exploit their femininity whether explicitly or implicitly. The irony is that although these occupations may give women a means of independence, such as Ichiyô desperately sought, both prostitutes and women writers are "caged" by men's desires.

Prostitutes and women writers are thus connected to a common sexuality by the shared images of beautiful and caged birds and this connection reveals the wider social context in which they operate separately and together. Moreover, there is a further extension of the metaphoric link between birds and prostitutes, which adds another dimension of imagery. Murakami Nobuhiko informs us, in his meticulous study of women in Meiji, that the prostitutes of Yoshiwara were actually called birds:

Owners of brothels used to be called "kutsuwa." This means a man who discarded eight virtues such as faith and loyalty that men should maintain. Hedging women in with debts and forcing them to sell off their sexuality in slivers to pay back – normal men could not do such trade. So "kutsuwa" is an apt expression. They regarded prostitutes as merchandise bought by money and did not treat them as human beings. Prostitutes were called birds in Yoshiwara. They were indeed caged birds. When people said: "Hey, a bird is coming out," it was about a prostitute. If women had been treated as human beings, the business would not have lasted even a day. [貸座敷営業者を昔は亡八(くつわ)と呼んだ。信義忠孝その他人間の守るべき八つの徳を捨て去った人間という意味である。借金で女のからだをがんじがらめにし、性の切り売りで返済させるような商売がまともな人間に勤まるわけがない。だから亡八とはいいい得て妙であった。彼らは娼妓を金で買った商品と割り切り、人間扱いしていない。吉原では娼妓を鳥と呼んだ。まさに籠の鳥にそういない。「おい、鳥が出るよ」と言えば娼妓のことであった。人間として遇するならば一日として成立しないような営業だからである。](4:

38)

It is pertinent to note that they were also rendered as “cows and horses” in the law of prohibition of slavery in 1872:

Because prostitutes lost the right of human beings, they were not different from cows and horses. The logic is that since a man cannot demand that cows and horses pay back, they do not have to repay the money exchanged for themselves, as well as the expenses for food and dressing. Therefore, the public called this law of liberation “the release of cows and horses.” [...] In short, the prohibition of slavery in the fifth year of Meiji [1872] was “the release of cows and horses,” not emancipation to restore human rights. [芸娼妓は人間の権利を失ったものだから牛や馬と異なるところはない。人間が牛馬に物を返せと言えるはずはないのだから、身売りの金はその後の飲食衣装代などの名目による借金も一切返す必要がないという論法である。したがって世間はこの解放令を「牛馬きりほどき」と称した。 (...) つまり、明治五年の人身売買禁止は「牛馬ふりほどき」であって、人権回復のための人間解放ではなかった。] (4: 198)

In the dominant discourse of men, women were dehumanised. Although the policy of rapid modernisation demanded the abolition of prostitution in the face of Western civilisation, Japan did not change its original view of prostitution as an inevitable evil in society. Therefore, women were not human beings but an instrument to cope with the evil. Even one of the most famous modern thinkers, Fukuzawa Yukichi, did not recognise the slave trade inherent in prostitution. He only insists, and explains at length, that the nation should hide prostitution from Western countries (86-92). Under the male value system, prostitutes as non-human beings were not problematised. And being called birds, cows and horses, their dehumanised status even gained public recognition. In fact, caged birds as prostitutes are found in dictionaries. According to the fourth edition of *Kôjien* [広辞苑] edited by Shinmura Izuru, “caged birds” [籠の鳥] are “those who have their freedom restricted, especially, prostitutes” [身の自由を束縛されている者。特に遊女。] (468). In this

way, the metaphor of birds suggests that prostitutes are equally feminine, beautiful, caged and dehumanised.

Images of birds thus suggest a significant link between Japanese women in different contexts. In fact, the bird imagery reveals an intertextual network of meanings embedded in *Wakarejimo*, Ichiyô's diaries, the illustrations in *The Literary Club* and the narratives and history of Yoshiwara as well as of government legislation. Otaka's sexuality is suppressed as "caged" by her father and Kanzô and the "ie." The liberation of her sexuality implies the shift from her father's "cage" to another "cage" as the ideal marriage to her ideal husband. Ichiyô, as an individual vulnerable woman, may have been in danger of sacrificing her sexuality when "a wounded bird" becomes her symbol. Ichiyô, as a woman writer in Meiji, may have been regarded as a public commodity in the same ways as prostitutes are when their common sexuality is suggested by the illustrations of the birds. Furthermore, prostitutes are linked with birds in terms of their common animalness implies women's sexuality as dehumanised as the tool of men's sexual gratification.

This complex network textualises women's sexuality as suggested by those bird images. When bird imagery tangles these different contexts and discourses together, it sets out the intertextuality of these complex meanings. Importantly, *Wakarejimo*, one of Ichiyô's earliest stories, and therefore regarded as negligible, and her diaries, a personal record of a woman's life, contribute to revealing these significant meanings that concern other women in Meiji.

### **Miles Franklin and Bird Imagery**

Some of the images of birds in Franklin's texts are analogous to Ichiyô's but many are not. I will identify Franklin's bird imagery carefully in order to clarify their distinction from, as well as their analogy to, the imagery in Ichiyô's texts. On completing *MCGB*, the sequel to

*MBC*, Franklin sent the manuscript to an Australian publisher, George Robertson, on 20 July 1902, saying: “[T]his story is superior to *My Brilliant Career*, as I have had some time in which to ripen” (Roe *My Congenials* 1: 23). But Robertson regarded the book as “too audacious for publication” (*MCGB* 8). Franklin then tried an English publisher, Blackwood, who had published her first book. She writes in a letter to Blackwood dated on 4 April 1910:

I note what you say about the stock of *My Brilliant Career*. I do not want any copies thank you but would have no objections to that number going to Australia provided no more are printed. I have on hand the MSS of a most inimitable sequel. Would you care to consider it? (Roe *My Congenials* 1: 64)

And she requests that the book be published in Australia only. However, neither of these two attempts resulted in publication and it was 1946 before *MCGB* was finally published. Calling the title of her first novel “jibing” and the heroine “rampageous” (*MCGB* 5), she belittles *MBC* in her prefatory remarks addressed to “ALL YOUNG AUSTRALIAN WRITERS” in the first edition of *MCGB*.

But INEXPERIENCE cannot possibly achieve any intended artistic effect. Removed as I was from anyone equipped to understand or direct my literary attempts it was inevitable that I, of all my audience, should be the most flabbergasted. The literalness with which *My Brilliant Career* was taken was a shock to one of any imagination. (6)

Therefore, she calls this sequel “a corrective” (6). It is evident that Franklin agonised over the confusion that the publication of *MBC* had brought and she endeavoured to “correct” the confusion by this “superior” sequel.

In *MCGB*, there are incidents such as the process of Sybylla’s writing her first book, its publication, the aftermath and arrogant love offers that she suffers, and her debut in and disappointment with Sydney society. Sybylla is now the only child in the Melvyns’ household and regarded as a beauty. As to her parents, while her mother is practical and



unloving as in *MBC*, her father is not a drunkard but always supports his daughter. She is now interested in entering politics to improve the society to which she belongs, as if to reflect the significance of the year 1902 for Australian women – the Commonwealth Government granted women the right to vote – when *MCGB* was written. In fact, her decision to write a book is due to her longing “to stand for Parliament” (26): her father suggests that she educate herself while waiting to reach the age of twenty-one to be eligible. Then she becomes interested in “an autobiography,” that is, “a device for disseminating personal facts straight from the horse’s mouth” (28).

One negative image of birds as a metaphor for women in *MCGB* is connected to Sybylla’s repeated caricature of marriage for women. She declares at the very beginning of the story: “The prospect of settling down to act tame hen in a tin pot circle, and to acknowledge men as superior merely owing to the accident of gender, revolted me” (12). On another occasion, articulating her resolution to stand for Parliament to others, she distinguishes herself from conventional domestic women whose “tame-hen accomplishments” (26) she scorns. Women as hens confined to marriage are thus a despicable image for Sybylla. This metaphor of hens for domestic women recurs in *CAB*, Franklin’s memoir, which I will investigate later.

Unlike the scornfulness associated with the image of hen/woman, another bird imagery signifies Sybylla’s “artistic satisfaction” (34). Her father gives her 480 sheets of paper, which her mother calls “a waste” (32), and she starts writing because she has enough spare time since the drought has reduced her workload. She asserts that she would enjoy writing “a burlesque autobiography” (34):

I could express my longing to escape to other lands and far great cities across the sheening ocean to strange ports above and below the Line, where big ships and little go for their cargoes. It was an opportunity to crystallise rebellion and to use up some of the words which pressed upon me like a flock of birds fluttering to be let out of their cages. There is artistic satisfaction in liberating

words: and they entered into me and flew from me like fairies. (34)

To express her desires on paper is to uncage herself. She wants to give her suppressed feelings a voice. Writing gives her a freedom, as if she were released from the limitations of the bush life. This agreeable image of the bird, symbolising Sybylla's liberation from the condition of her current life by means of art, is reiterated in *MCGB* and may further imply a potential outcome that her "artistic satisfaction" will bring.

Sybylla's father symbolises her as a bird in an image that also refers to her artistic characteristics. This time her talent for the stage is the focus of attention. Although she has never read a play, except Shakespeare's, she concocts a scene and plays it in the hay shed with a "State child," Eustace, who is "to help about the place" (42). Predictably, her mother is upset by her being "with a boy – swept up from the gutter of somewhere – in a pair of trousers exposing her flesh" (43). Her father, on the other hand, tries to defend his bright daughter, answering his wife's query that Sybylla acquaints herself with "notions of the stage – the lowest . . ." (44): "I suppose a sea bird reared in the middle of a desert would retain aquatic tendencies" (44). Sybylla's father is proud of her inherent artistic talent although it is wasted in the monotonous life of the bush. Though dismissed by her practical mother, her gift for the theatre and her aspiration may appeal more to the reader due partly to the repetition of this image.

Old Harris, who is Sybylla's teacher at Possum Gully, enhances the image of birds signifying her artistic disposition. He sends her a letter, replying to her lament over the sensation that her book has caused and the complaints of those who claim that they are "caricatured" (92) in the book. She writes: "He stated that fowls would always peck at the wild swan that was hatched among them until it grew strong enough to escape" (92). Old Harris reassures Sybylla by identifying her with the swan that wears "the mantle of genius" (92) among "fowls" as ordinary people who "peck" at her.

He also writes in the letter: "Your wings, my brave girl, [. . .] are fashioned for grand flight. Lift them up and soar [. . .]" (93). He gives her advice, "think and wait, make

no entanglements to cripple the power of long distance flight” (93). In this image of the bird, the swan, Old Harris also refers to Sybylla’s artistic gift, particularly, writing. He places an emphasis on her “wings” that will enable her to fly, unlike the fowls. I contend that this flight, with the gift of writing, further indicates a possibility of Sybylla’s independence. He advises her to prepare for “long distance flight,” meaning that she should continue to write carefully and wisely. Although he once discouraged Sybylla from writing saying that: “[T]he pursuit of literature was a precarious staff of life, but an engrossing hobby, if one had the leisure and the means” (34), he now encourages her to write. I speculate that he may consider, due to the fame her book has generated, her writing to be profitable as “the means” for an independent life.

Sybylla also thinks that writing can be “the means.” When she craves “someone to read the result” (39), i.e. her first book, she chooses “our greatest Australian author” (40) and she sends him the manuscript. She believes that he earns substantial money out of his writing, though it is only her fancy (40). She does not know, either, that he “may be pestered by so many literary duds that he sees each fresh one draw near with weariness and terror” (40) at this point. Ignorant about the reality of being a writer and what is happening to her manuscript, she is shocked by the publication of her book with which he asked her to entrust him. Although she does not expect her manuscript to be published, the publication itself may suggest the possibility of a writing career. Whereas the images I examined previously only emphasise Sybylla’s “artistic satisfaction,” this bird imagery of Old Harris’s alludes to the possibility of a future for her writing as a profession. It is possible to say, therefore, that the “wings” are a metaphor for Sybylla’s independence. Old Harris uses the image of the swan to signify that Sybylla’s gift differentiates her from ordinary “fowls” and also centres on the “wings” that will give her a freedom and independence.

Despite the gift of writing, however, Sybylla’s writing does not, automatically, become a career. To write what she wants to write, despite having published a book, is not

acceptable everywhere. She becomes involved in the journalistic world during her stay in Sydney as Sydney society is curious about her. One harsh example is Mrs Thrumnoddy who criticises Sybylla's fashion sense severely in a newspaper article, although behaving nicely in Sybylla's presence, for which Mrs Thrumnoddy receives money (139-40).

Nevertheless, Sybylla becomes interested in earning money as a journalist; she asks Mr Wilting, the expatriate literary critic, if she can earn money by writing articles and his answer fills her "with hope" (153). On the other hand, she thinks that writing books will not make money as quickly as her urgent situation demands. She tells Mr Goring Hardy, a successful literary man: "About writing any more books, [. . .] I've decided not to. I shall have to earn my living. We're poor" (167).

Sybylla also learns that her journalistic career will not, however, be economically successful. The reality is that she is merely the topic that other journalists focus on and her own writing is not in demand. She is disappointed to know that the publication of her article by Mr Wilting is only "out of [his] interest to keep [her] before public" (171). Just as she hears this discouraging news from Mr Wilting, she meets a young man who asks her for an interview. He is among many freelance writers who want to write about her for money whereas she "[can't] make a penny anywhere" (171).

Sybylla now realises that writing may not give her "artistic satisfaction," let alone financial success. According to Mr Hardy, she "should have to deny what [she] honestly [feels]" (181). She continues:

What puzzles me was that my first attempt was praised for its sincerity, and yet every man who wanted to marry me or to help me in my career immediately set out to change me into something entirely different. (181)

Although Sybylla is offered to "do the WOMAN'S LETTER on one of the big newspapers" (203) in Sydney, which is currently in "Lady Jane[']s" (203) charge, she does not want to take this position from "Lady Jane." Back at Possum Gully, she receives a hundred pounds as the royalties for her book but this money is used to save her family that

year. A kind editor of a big daily gives her opportunities to write, for which she earns twenty-five shillings a week, but his censorship does not allow “[her] own discoveries” (218) to be printed. And this is stopped when he departs. Thus, in the end, Sybylla’s gift for writing, symbolised in the “wings” which may enable her to fly for freedom, provides, neither in modern Sydney nor in Possum Gully, a career and livelihood that also give her “artistic satisfaction.”

*MCGB* ends with Sybylla’s aspiration for going to England. This is matched by her realisation: “It must be grand to be free to write what you like, happier still to be so self-satisfied as to like what you write” (230). She depicts the beautiful landscape at the very end in which descriptions of birds are included.

The kookaburras are laughing themselves to sleep, chorus answering chorus –  
*coda – da capo – finale*. The gentle curlews lure me farther into the scrub,  
where I still can see the departing sun and the afterglow falling far away  
through a gap in the ranges on to one of the bright rich plains of an early  
holding.

The flaunting afterglow melts and passes, the evening star is bright and  
bold, and throws a spark in the dam of the back paddock at the fall of the  
she-oak ridge where the night birds call in unmolested scrubs and flap slowly  
from tree to tree. (234)

This ending reminds us of *MBC* which also depicts the beautiful landscape in the sunset and the laughing of kookaburras. However, Sybylla in *MCGB*, unlike Sybylla in *MBC*, clarifies her wish to go to England for her writing career: “Beauty is abroad. Under her spell the voices of the great world call me. To them I give ear and go” (234). Although she is now aware of the difficulty of establishing herself as the successful writer, she still holds on to the hope of gaining “artistic satisfaction” by writing. Sybylla as the free bird, liberating her words and herself from the cage, is thus restored in the end.<sup>11</sup>

This ending also reminds us of the ending to *Laughter Not for a Cage*. Although I

do not have the scope here to consider *Laughter Not for a Cage* in my discussion of bird imagery, I would like to suggest a link between the endings where native birds are described similarly as free and sprightly.

Truly there are no nightingales to enchant the night, but the mellow carillon of the magpies enlarges the spacious sunlit days and the mocking laughter of the kookaburras is not for a cage. (230)

Considering that *Laughter Not for a Cage* is a collection of Franklin's criticism on Australian literature, this last sentence may suggest her opinion that Australian native literature is free and promising like the vivacious native birds. For Franklin, the pursuit of literature as an Australian writer has given her freedom from the "cage." Sybylla and Franklin are thus identified by the bird imagery symbolising their writing creativity.

While the images of birds in *MCGB*, which emanate from Sybylla's passion for art, are metaphorical, Franklin sometimes talks about birds directly in *CAB*. In this case, birds are described as a part of animal world that she admires. Chapter fifteen, titled "Toys," is about her love of animals. All artificial toys that normally infatuate children are "make-belief" for her (68). Partly because she lacks "the bone and muscle for strength" (73) and also, because of her "over-much association with adults" (72), she prefers animals to other rough children as her playing companions.

However, Franklin's mother, a strong model of traditional womanhood, does not permit her excessive affection to animals since it separates her from the norm as a child and as a girl. But dolls, which girls usually crave, do not satisfy Franklin. It seems that her mother has a thoughtful but practical opinion about normal relations between human and animals: "Mother vetoed pets for their own sakes. We were encouraged to care for lost or orphaned and domestic animals and birds, but not allowed to confine or cage them for our pleasure" (69). Therefore, her mother cannot understand or sympathise when Franklin tries to build human relationships with animals. Although Franklin's affection for animals, including "wild birds" and "[d]omestic chicks" (70), originates from her worship of nature,

being too affectionate about them makes her unconventional. Animals then become symbols of her unconventional identity, particularly belonging to her childhood. Her unusual attachment to animals appears a number of times and, in chapter twenty-five, her affection is focused on an injured chicken, which I will discuss later.

For now, I focus on the metaphor of the bird for a domestic woman in chapter twenty-five. The chapter begins with Franklin's observations, as a little girl, of separate spheres for men and women and her rejection of the woman's status in the home. She caricatures a wife as a hen:

The domestic arts can be absorbing. They are basic for decent, comfortable life as organized by men for centuries; but to be discouraged in the realm of mental speculation till the mind becomes inelastic and atrophied was what I subconsciously resisted. I strove to evade the oncoming doom of contraction to the housewife's hen-mindedness, or incarceration in her cage by escape into nature. (134-35).

Evidently, Franklin's metaphor of hen/wife is a contemptuous one. And this contemptuous image is significant taking into account the considerable lag between her writing of *MCGB*, 1902, and *CAB*, 1952-53.

On the other hand, hens, as animals belonging to nature, are also objects of her love and joy. When her mother threatens to put her "in the hen house" (70) unless she "keep[s] away from the dogs and pigs" (70), she innocently and gladly answers: "Can I make a nest like the hens? Can I lay a very big egg?" (70). For the innocent Franklin, the hen is merely a lovable creature with which she is fascinated. However, the hen can be despicable when it becomes the metaphor for a housewife incarcerated in her cage/marriage. I am not calling this dual meaning of the hen ambivalence; hens as animals and hens as metaphors are perceived differently by Franklin. The former belongs to the heartwarming memories of her childhood and her love for animals while the latter derives from her feminism.

The chicken symbolises more than a mere object of Franklin's affection. As well as

the chicken anecdote, in chapter twenty-five, Franklin describes her grandmother's place, Ajinby, and her activities there. She also focuses on her relationship with her grandmother who, though she loves her granddaughter dearly, constantly draws attention to her lack of femininity. For example, her grandmother says to her: "Such a big girl now, you should be ashamed of yourself to be running about idle like a boy" (136). As if answering this reproach, Franklin shows a characteristic of femininity in looking after a chicken that she accidentally injures.

As I sat pondering the burial of the chicken, the vulnerable body moved in my hand. The relief of that moment with its release from a sense of sin can never be forgotten. The working man, coming from the stockyards, found me.

"What's the matter with the chicken? Where's the old hen?"

He took the chick from my hand.

"Poor little beggar! Chicken-hawk or one of the pups must have got at it. Its beak is busted right off. It's no more good. I'll wring its neck."

This galvanized me to grasp the chicken with the intensity of a mother with a defective child. Surely enough the lower half of the bill was broken clean off, the result of my attack. (139)

Instead of dolls, the chicken stimulates Franklin's maternal instinct which satisfies her grandmother. Although the child Franklin does not like human babies because of their "inanity" (140), "the chicken was an object of infatuation because its helplessness and dependence on [her] glorified another human desire" (140).

However, Franklin, as a mature woman and writer, asserts her resentment at traditional "womanliness" (141) of this maternal instinct of women.

The limitations of the company of infants and toddlers now confronted me again in restriction to the women's domain. The artificial bonds called feminine were presented to my understanding. I must become genteel as befitting a young lady. A good deal was attributed to God's will, and did not



turn my heart any more warmly to that gentleman. It was the humbug in “womanliness”, the distorting and atrophying of minds on a sex line, the grinding superstition that all women must be activated on a more or less moronic level, the absence of fair play between men and women when masculine and feminine issue arose that was at the root of the trouble, though I did not know so much in my first decade. I was more bewildered and tormented and rebellious in my second, when preoccupation with sex was discovered to be in excess of all needs for perpetuating the species, and banished logic from human behaviour. (141)

Of course, Franklin as a child does not articulate these feminist views; but the girl’s “frowardness” (144), as her grandmother calls her particular quality, is a symptom of her later feminism. Although her mothering of the chicken and her “frowardness” seem to contradict each other, they both, in point of fact, result from her unconventionality. Her maternal instinct is not, conventionally, directed to dolls and babies and her “frowardness” is identified as one of her unconventional qualities that “will bring [her] trouble” (142) and requires God’s cure (142) according to her grandmother.

I argue that this chapter is one of the most intimate ones – and actually one of the longest – in *CAB* where Franklin discusses gender issues that affected her childhood and how the little Franklin responded to them, albeit subconsciously. Accordingly, I also argue that the chicken, injured and therefore deviant from the crowd of other chickens, symbolises not only her unconventional mothering but also Franklin herself who is ostracised because of her “frowardness.” The significance of the chicken for Franklin as a “froward” girl is embodied in the chapter’s title “The Chicken;” this chapter articulates some of her intimate concerns as well as the anecdote.

The injured chicken as a symbol of Franklin’s abnormality or unconventionality is demonstrated by Aunt Metta’s reactions when she is to deliver Franklin to her home, Stillwater, after Christmas. The little Franklin insists on taking the chicken with her but

Aunt Metta firmly refuses. Her grandmother's intervention enables her to take the chicken with her but it is found dead during their stay at her grandmother's cottage in town. Aunt Mary, her grandmother's sister who lived in some rooms at the cottage, suggests it was her fowls' fault. Franklin later suspects that Aunt Metta killed the chicken with "some opiate" (158) though she could never confirm this suspicion with Aunt Metta.

If Franklin's suspicion was true, Aunt Metta's killing of the chicken would derive from her sense of duty in bringing the girl back to the reality and to the track of proper womanliness, as well as her annoyance at having to travel with the chicken. Franklin describes Aunt Metta as "perfect" and "an ideal;" one who could "correct or train" her (152), indicating that she is one of the respectable women. Joy Hooton also points out, in her critical analysis of *CAB*, Franklin's identification with the chicken and sees Aunt Metta "in the role of severe angel"(64). The little girl's "frowardness" may be overlooked under the grandmother's care but, perhaps, not by her parents, especially her mother. Aunt Metta is so austere about traditional femininity that she does not even tolerate the girl's mothering of the chicken because of its unconventionality. The chicken, that is, the deviant Franklin, is destroyed by Aunt Metta so that the girl could return to the realistic world, Stillwater, from the Eden-like Ajinby and become normal and "perfect" like Aunt Metta herself.

Last, I shall discuss two different bird images in *MBC*. One is related to Sybylla's refusal of marriage. Although not as clearly articulated as the metaphor of hen/wife incarcerated in cage/marriage in *MCGB* and *CAB*, marriage for Sybylla is also a cage. From her observation of other women, particularly her own mother, she learns that marriage is "degradation" (70) for women. However, she grows attracted to Harold Beecham, a young bushman and the wealthy neighbour of Caddagat, where she is sent because the family becomes too poor to keep her. She accepts his marriage proposal though with an unusual condition of engagement.

"It is no use of me making a long yarn about nothing. I'm sure you know

what I want to say better than I do myself. You always are wonderfully smart at seeing through a fellow. Tell me, will it be yes or no?"

This was an experience in love. He did not turn red or white, or yellow or green, nor did he tremble or stammer, or cry or laugh, or become fierce or passionate, or tender or anything but just himself, as I had always known him. He displayed no more emotion than had he been inviting me to a picnic. This was not as I had pictured a man would tell his love, or as I had read of it, heard of it, or wished it should be. A curious feeling – disappointment, perhaps – stole over me. His matter-of-fact coolness flabbergasted me.

"Is this not rather sudden? You have given me no intimation of your intentions," I stammered.

"I didn't think it wise to dawdle any longer," he replied.

"Surely you have known what I've been driving at ever since I first clapped eyes on you, only I want you to be engaged to me for safety."

He spoke as usual in his slow twangy drawl, which would have proclaimed his Colonial nationality anywhere. No word of love was uttered to me and none requested from me.

I put it down to his conceit. I thought that he fancied he could win any woman, and me without the least palaver or trouble. I felt annoyed. I said aloud, "I will become engaged to you;" to myself added, "Just for a while, the more to surprise and take the conceit out of you when the time comes."

Now that I understand his character I know that it was not conceit, but just his quiet unpretending way. He had meant all his actions towards me, and had taken mine in return. (124-25)

When Harold tries to kiss Sybylla, she objects to this kiss, lashing him with his riding-whip on his face. Her reason is that:

Perhaps my vanity was wounded, and my tendency to strike when touched

was up in arms. The calm air of ownership with which Harold drew near annoyed me, or, as Sunday-school teachers would explain it, Satan got hold of me. (125)

Harold, as soon as he proposes to her and his proposal is accepted, wants to kiss her. This suggests, at least he seems to think, that the promise of marriage allows him to access her body. I contend that Sybylla rejects this imputation that her body will be owned by means of marriage. Her refusal of marriage is not only due to its confining of women to the female sphere and its unfairness to women (31), but also due to her refusal to be owned sexually.

Then, she puts Harold on trial, though she accepts the ring with the diamond and sapphire, suggesting “three months’ probation to see how we get on” (130). Significantly, she does not allow him any physical contact during this “probation.” “I won’t let you put a finger on me till the three months are up” (130). Although she seems, paradoxically, disappointed that Harold is “barren of emotion or passion of any kind” (133), the passion she wants does not belong to the legality of sexual relationship in matrimony. She disdains men’s domination over women by subjugating women’s sexuality.

In the context of this ambiguous engagement, Sybylla and Harold use bird imagery that alludes to marriage. This happens after the argument over Sybylla’s flirtation and her witnessing Harold’s “rage” (147) for the first time.

“Can you really trust me again after seeing me get in such a vile beast of a rage? I often do that, you know,” he said.

“Believe me, Hal, I liked it so much I wish you would get in a rage again. I can’t bear people who never let themselves go, or rather, who have nothing in them to carry them away – they cramp and bore me.”

“But I have a frightful temper. Satan only knows what I will do in it yet. Would you not be frightened of me?”

“No fear,” I laughed; “I would defy you.”

"A tomtit might as well defy me," he said with amusement.

"Well, big as you are, a tomtit having such superior facilities for getting about could easily defy you," I replied.

"Yes, unless it was caged," he said.

"But supposing you never got it caged," I returned.

"Syb, what do you mean?"

"What could I mean?"

"I don't know. There are always about four or five meanings in what you say." (147)

In fact, Harold earlier identified Sybylla with "a sparrow" (105) for her smallness but the "tomtit" indicates more than her small figure. At the end of this quoted passage, Harold seems puzzled to know that Sybylla may be unwilling to be "caged." He thinks that he can restrict Sybylla's "superior facilities for getting about," which would upset him, by caging her. I consider that caging means here marriage that stops her being free.

This conversation passes soon and is pursued by neither Sybylla nor Harold but this bird imagery of confining women to marriage stems from Sybylla's belief in marriage as "degradation" for women. John Docker also finds a powerful feminist message in this passage: "This passage, with its fascinating echoes of Ibsen, shows the vitality in the period of writing on women's situation, attitudes, and dilemmas" (*Critical Condition* 139). Docker is alluding here to *A Doll's House*. In addition, although not clearly articulated in this bird image, Sybylla's ambiguous response to Harold's marriage proposal and the queer state of their subsequent engagement result, to some extent, from her rejection of his sexual control over her. I emphasise that marriage, for Sybylla, not only limits the sphere of women's activities but also deprives them of authority over their own bodies.

The other image of birds in *MBC* that I want to consider centres upon birds as animals but, this time, their inferiority to humans is paramount. There is mention of Sybylla's concern for her family's dairy cattle. Her sorrow for them in drought is matched

by her contempt for her father. Dick Melvyn of Possum Gully is but a wreck of his former self at Bruggabrong. Having lost his love and willingness to care for his family, his treatment of animals has been changed, too: "Formerly so kind and gentle with animals, now he was the reverse" (14). Sybylla continues:

His cruelty to the young cows and want of patience with them I can never forget. It has often brought upon me the threat of immediate extermination for volunteering scathing and undesired opinions of his conduct. (14)

Animals are thus a measure of his self-centredness. Susan Gardner identifies these animals with women who are also men's tools and further suggests a dehumanisation of women in Sybylla's eyes.

Many animal images in *My Brilliant Career* – taming horses, the exhausted cattle, and above all the starving poddy calves deprived of their mothers' milk for market dairy production – are mirrors of how Sybylla sees her own and other women's situations: deprived, exploited, hungering for sustenance (especially from other women), controlled. [. . .] Sybylla and Harry are quite explicit that marriage would "cage" her. (33-34)

Dairying is harsh for both men and women as Sybylla herself asserts: "[D]airying means slavery in the hands of poor people who cannot afford hired labour" (16).<sup>12</sup> But women can be doubly burdened with the responsibilities in their sphere, namely the home, and the additional inevitability of their work outside. Considering the situation of her parents, she comments: "A woman is but the helpless tool of man – a creature of circumstances" (15). She recognises an image of women who are conditioned and mistreated by men in her father's cruelty to animals. When women are identified with animals in terms of men's dominion, men's cruel treatment of animals, metaphorically tends to women's dehumanisation. In this context, according to Gardner, bird imagery that signifies a woman caged by marriage, can be the metaphor of her dehumanised status, too.

Bird/s used as a metaphor for women in Franklin's texts is, thus, various in its uses

and meanings but some of them are relevant to one another. I have read these three texts, *MBC*, *MCGB* and *CAB*, as intertextually connected considering the blurred boundary between them as fictitious and autobiographical writings. Bird imagery, in fact, designates another intertextual link between the three, revealing one of Franklin's significant thematics through which represents her feminist opinions about women's specific conditions and experiences over the course of her long, albeit interrupted, writing career.

Of course, Franklin's birds are naturally symbols of Australianness as Gardner points out: "The birds mentioned in *My Brilliant Career* evoke Franklin's love for the environment before it was polluted" (33). Franklin's birds, depicted in the three texts, originate from her closeness to the Australian natural world and her love for animals especially is depicted in *CAB*. Further, her celebration of Australian nature is related to her pride as an Australian writer. The similar endings of *MBC* and *MCGB* are linked to that of *Laughter Not for a Cage* in terms of the descriptions of the landscape and the laughing of kookaburras and other birds. In fact, these bird descriptions recall Sybylla symbolised by the flying bird seeking independence and reminding the reader that both Sybylla and Franklin herself despised marriage as a "cage."

Therefore, Franklin's love for Australian birds is not counter to her bird metaphors that offer a feminist symbolic representation of women: they are integral. These images include a flying bird symbolising Sybylla's artistic talent; a swan for her as an independent writer; a sparrow or tomtit signifying the smallness of Sybylla; a hen or tomtit as a caged woman in marriage and as just one of the animals that Franklin loves; a chicken cared for by a "froward" girl. Moreover, bird imagery can be extended to animal imagery: standing for women divested of humanity by men's control. Many bird images signifying women's specific conditions and experiences have an appeal to Franklin's modern, feminist readers who sympathise with her refusal of women's sexual subjugation in marriage and desire for independence with a profession.

Thus, Franklin's bird imagery can be understood in her association with Australian

tradition and with feminism which are, in fact, not dichotomised but unified. It seems that the plural titles in her eminence as a writer, nationalist and feminist, are also relevant to the construction of her bird imagery; however, the Australianness of the source of her bird imagery should not prevent her from being positioned within the different and broader canon of a female tradition.

## Conclusion

I have discussed diverse images of birds in the texts of Ichiyô and Franklin and have shown that the constructs of their imagery are both similar and different. Bird imagery, in both Japanese and Australian texts, is the product of specificities in the various contexts together with the personal experiences and thoughts of the authors. Both Ichiyô and Franklin celebrate birds in the natural context and show their appreciation of the traditions of their own countries and cultures. However, for Franklin, her celebration of birds, closely connected with the Australian nature, also conveys her feminist appeal, which is for her an important thematic throughout the long years of her writing career. On the other hand, Ichiyô's bird imagery does not readily connect to her feminism. The bird imagery in her texts and related literary and historical accounts actually suggests women's vulnerability and powerlessness in relation to men or the "ie" system.

Nevertheless, it is significant that the convention of bird/s as a metaphor for women, symbolising women's confinement, is shared by Ichiyô and Franklin. The "caged bird" metaphor in *Wakarejimo* embraces a specific Japanese women's condition, that is, their imprisonment in the masculine "ie." Otaka's death perpetuates her bond to Yoshinosuke but her denial of her father's "ie" is striking: seven years of caged condition does not alter her decision. Franklin's "caged bird" metaphor articulates her rejection of the institution of marriage. Thus, the "caged bird" metaphor conveys their rejection of women's subjugation



to men. Moreover, some of their bird metaphors reveal embedded parallels: women's sexuality constricted by social mores and women's dehumanisation under men's domination. Just as Sybylla does not approve of legalised sexuality in marriage, Ichiyô proudly rejects the status of concubine. Further, both in Japan and Australia under specific conditions, women are dehumanised and identified with animals, whether birds, dairy cattle or cows and horses, in the cages where men are their masters.

I would like to conclude this chapter by emphasising the possibility that we can identify Ichiyô with Franklin and further, with other women writers by the tradition of bird imagery and this tradition itself will be enriched with the individual meanings of Ichiyô's and Franklin's own imagery.

### Chapter 3: Gardens for Women

This chapter investigates another metaphor, namely the garden, in some texts of Franklin and Ichiyô. I will look into their texts to reveal the significance of the garden there and in relation to their contemporary circumstances. I will argue that the garden is, for both Franklin and Ichiyô, a specific item which represents their women characters' emotional responses to their lives and situations and which represents their own language to express themselves.

#### Gardens in Franklin's Writing

I will focus on *MBC* and *CAB* for a discussion of the garden as a metaphor; however, I will also consider representations of the landscape, orchard and flowers since they are frequent in these texts and have similar effects. I will argue that these representations reveal a complex language that functions to represent Sybylla's and Franklin's emotions and that this powerful language forms what I will term a romance discourse. As John Docker writes: "[A] great deal of the vitality of [*MBC*] comes from its being precisely romance, with an exciting romance narrative structure, and from Sybylla being a 'romance heroine'" ("Antipodean" 104). Therefore, I will reject the conventional evaluation of Franklin's writing as realist; a tradition initiated by Henry Lawson's preface to *MBC* and, instead, position the novel within an Australian women's tradition in terms of women's spontaneous relationship to landscape. In the context of the power of romance, I will read *CAB* as *MBC*'s "poignant thematic companion" (Gardner 41). These two texts are dominated by the romance discourse from points of view of Sybylla and Franklin.

I will read *MBC* and *CAB* alongside one another in order to illustrate contrasting images between the representations of Possum Gully and Stillwater and those of Caddagat

and Ajinby. These contrasts are usually articulated through descriptions of the beauty or the stagnation of the landscape, an abundance or sparsity of flowers and water, and the evidence of economic wealth and poverty. I will argue that this articulation is an expression of Sybylla's and Franklin's power of their own language: a romance discourse. I will focus on some specific passages in *MBC*, as Sybylla's romance discourse, including the representations of landscape, flowers, gardens and orchards, in which Sybylla dominates her lover, Harold, her situation and in which her various "potential[s]" are expressed. Then, my interpretation of the garden in *CAB* will draw on colonial women's descriptions of the garden where fruit is a symbol.

Conventional assessments of *MBC* have depended on its realistic descriptions of bush life and I briefly summarised these assessments in Chapter one. Henry Lawson writes in his preface to the novel: "[T]he descriptions of bush life and scenery came startlingly, painfully real to me, and I know that, as far as they are concerned, the book is true to Australia – the truest I ever read" ("Preface"). Significantly, Franklin herself emphasises her novel's association with the masculine aspect of the bush, which became popular in the 1890s in relation to a growing nationalism. Describing Lawson as "the foremost Australian writer of the nineties" (*Laughter* 112), she equates *MBC* with Joseph Furphy's *Such Is Life* (1903) and writes that *MBC* "burns with the nationalism rampant at the time" (119).

In his essay, "'Through Clear Australian Eyes': Landscape and Identity in Australian Writing," compiled in *Mapped But Not Known* (1986), John Barnes identifies Franklin with Lawson, Furphy and Barbara Baynton. He writes that they

see the Bush individually, with differing degrees of intensity, but common to them all is the conception of life as a struggle to survive in an environment which tests and threatens the humanity of those who live in it. (100-01)

Barnes refers here to a realist portrayal or representation of the bush and the severe hardship experienced by both the men and women who lived and worked there. Although

his reference to *MBC* is thus brief, it is significant that he ignores the romantic element of the novel, as Lawson did. Lawson's earliest evaluation of *MBC*, focusing on its realism, is recognisable in Barnes's essay, some eighty years after the first publication of *MBC*.

On the other hand, Lawson is perplexed with "the girlishly emotional parts of the book" ("Preface") and leaves them untouched by comment. Presumably, Lawson refers here to descriptions I will identify as romance discourse in *MBC*. Geoffrey Dutton and H. M. Green follow Lawson's evaluation of Franklin's writing in their anthologies of Australian literature. For example, Green points out "the faults of immaturity" such as "absurd melodramatic clichés," whereas he values "a rich vernacular" (693) in the novel. Dutton does not see "the ideal of realism" (*The Literature* 183) in *MBC*, however. He dismisses Sybylla's rejection of conventional romance in her introduction to the novel as "an immature, question-begging statement of realist intentions which she could not fulfill" (183) and ascribes "the emotional confusion" (183) to Franklin's youth and immaturity.

In fact, this "immaturity" is regarded as the "merit" of *MBC* as Dutton, including *MBC* in his *The Australian Collection: Australia's Greatest Books* (1985), writes that *MBC* is "a most outstanding Australian book" (71). Brian Kiernan seems to confirm this assessment in "Realism and Romance" (1990). Kiernan considers Sybylla's introduction as her "react[ion] against" successful "'colonial romances'" (412) by such women writers as Rosa Praed and Ada Cambridge. He claims that *MBC*, rejecting "Australian literary conventions" (412), depicts Sybylla's "immature feelings" which experience both "romantic ecstasies" and "the deflating depths of low-life realism," (412) like *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) by James Joyce. As Frances McInherny puts it, these patronising assessments by male critics actually reveal their "inability to deal seriously with the emotional and psychological facets of Sybylla's narrative" (73).

Some critics problematise the masculinist construction of realism and romance and criticise the hierarchical division between the realist writing of Franklin and Barbara Baynton and the romantic writing of so-called "lady novelists." Susan Sheridan argues

that there are “signs of dissatisfaction” (32) and “subversive elements” (34) in the conventional romantic writing, shared by Franklin and Baynton. On the other hand, Ian Henderson argues that Sybylla’s genre parody rejects the gendered categories of realism and romance and that Sybylla presents a new model of identity based on her own gender and genre. As I note in Chapter one, these arguments are important: Sheridan links Franklin with other women writers suppressed by the masculine construction of literary tradition and Henderson’s reading transcends the conventions of realism and romance proving that the novel is able to respond to contemporary theories such as Judith Butler’s gender as performance. However, I do not want to dismiss romance altogether here but to add a new dimension by looking into Franklin’s and Sybylla’s positive descriptions of, and their association with, landscape, embracing the bush, and considering this association as the element of an Australian women’s tradition.

This bush, part of the landscape of female association, is not analogous with the masculine bush. Therefore, criticising Franklin for her agreement with the so-called patriarchal ideology of the 1890s, surrounding the discourse of this masculine bush, such as McInherny and Joy Hooton do, is not to my purpose. McInherny writes that Franklin “has internalized many of the values of the dominant patriarchy, not only in the eulogies of the bush [. . .] but [. . .] the seemingly uncritical acceptance of the notion of two classes or types of women” (72). Hooton, suggesting that *CAB* explains “Sybylla’s ambivalent attitude toward gender” (“*Childhood at Brindabella*” 64), argues:

[*CAB*] elucidates Franklin’s persistent idealisation of a remote Europeanised Australia, her inconsistent elitist tendencies and concern with caste, and her commitment to the patriarchal ideology of the 1890s, which was in fact inimical to her deepest needs. (65)

Instead of reinscribing “the patriarchal ideology” into the texts, however, I will rely upon a new framework of reading which, emancipating them from “the patriarchal ideology,” does not ascribe “the girlishly emotional parts” to “immaturity.”

Some feminist critics have discussed women's positive relationship to landscape as significant in the nineteenth-century women's writing. Susan Martin discusses Sybylla's identification with the bush, linking it with nineteenth-century Australian women's portrayal of "a friendly and inviting landscape contiguous with the woman who occupied it" (70). Obviously, Sybylla and Franklin are not the only women who find the Australian landscape sympathetic. Susan Gardner further suggests a link between *MBC* and international women writers:

To the list provided by Moers (George Sand's Vallée Noire, Isak Dinesen's Kenya, Willa Cather's prairies, to which South Africans would wish to add the Karoo landscapes of Shreiner and Pauline Smith), Franklin's writings deserve to be added, read as a colonial-regional modulation of a female sensibility about landscape. (41)

Women's relationship to their own landscapes is "loving possession without expropriation and despoliation" (42) as Gardner borrows from Ellen Moers's expression. Thus, Franklin's and Sybylla's relationship to the Australian landscape, by which they wield the power of romance, is the similar experience of not only Australian but also international women writers.

Focusing on Australian women's writing, Sybylla's and Franklin's intimate relationship to the Australian landscape links that relationship to representations in other colonial women's writing and there are striking commonalities. Delys Bird focuses on colonial women's "private" writing such as diaries, letters and journals differentiated from men's "public" records and thereby neglected. In "Gender and Landscape: Australian Colonial Women Writers" (1989), Bird argues that women's descriptions of strange landscapes as "picturesque" are their "technique of familiarisation and incorporation" (28) in that they tried to "demystify" differences and strangeness (28). The Australian bush is "a liberating space," in Helen Thomson's phrase, for women, rather than a mysterious, fearful and adversarial place. Bird and Thomson contend that the bush alleviated

gender-biased values and some cultural conventions that constricted women's individuality in society (Bird 30, 34; Thomson 21-22).

As Martin writes:

Nineteenth-century Australian women writers consistently identified their heroines with the bush. Their heroines escaped into it, as Sybylla does, in times of stress or thought. Invariably they found the bush benign and beautiful.  
(68)

For nineteenth-century colonial women and women writers, the bush was the place where they felt at ease and familiar. Similarly, colonial women had their own language to "establish themselves as subjects in their new environment" (Bird 32): like one powerful colonial woman, Annie Baxter, who has "narrativised her landscape" (31), Sybylla and Franklin narrativise their landscape with their own language and make it powerful to themselves. These commonalities, between Sybylla and Franklin, nineteenth-century women writers and colonial women who share a positive sentiment in their relationship to landscape, become a significant element of this Australian female tradition.

My investigation of *MBC* and *CAB* in this chapter reveals how Sybylla and Franklin construct a female power, stemming from their relationship to landscape, in the name of romance. Thomson's essay, "Gardening in the Never-Never: Women Writers and the Bush" (1993), identifies a female version of the bush, different from the masculine one, with "a different aspect of the romance, the Arcadian" (21). Thomson quotes Fiona Giles's comment on *MBC* that the novel "professes to distance itself from romance fiction [. . .] but traces the quest of a heroine who, while rejecting the conventional romantic option of love and marriage, proposes her own romantic future as the splendidly isolated literary outsider" (Giles 231). Then, importantly, Thomson considers that *MBC*'s alternative romance is exemplified in its depiction of the garden "as a metaphor made feminine by its association with fruitfulness and nurturing" (23) and this point will be pertinent to my discussion of the garden representations in *CAB*.

However, Thomson interprets the gap between Possum Gully and Caddagat as “paradoxical,” (21) positioning Franklin as a postcolonial Australian woman writer who detached herself from feminine, un-Australian romance but whose “autonomy and objectification” was denied by “the masculinist bush tradition” (22). Instead, I read this gap as Sybylla’s responding to her emotions, her conscious use of her own language, which makes her “a ‘romance heroine.’” The masculine bush does not intervene anywhere in Sybylla’s romance discourse. This feminine, positive romance springs from women’s shared relationship to the friendly landscape already noted; therefore, although Giles’s comment accords with my reading, when she refers to Sybylla’s “quest” for “her own romantic future,” this “quest” does not make Sybylla “the splendidly isolated literary outsider” (231).

Hence, my argument depends upon, together with Docker’s recognition of *MBC*’s romance as its “vitality,” Gardner’s statement, in her article published in as early as 1985, about the strength of *MBC* and *CAB* as an awakening to their “potential.”

[*MBC*’s] mythic core and centuries of telling in media besides print (stories; needlework) assert the possibility of an association with nature that does not, however, equate femaleness with nature. Rather, nature is the site of potential erotic gratification and religious or mystical vision, some of these experiences associated with men, but none of them dependent on or defined by men as such. *My Brilliant Career* and its poignant thematic companion *Childhood at Brindabella* take place in an Australia recognizably like, emotionally and symbolically if in no precise geographic sense, other landscapes where women have depicted themselves coming to awareness of their potential. (41)

My argument is that it is the romance discourse of Franklin’s *MBC* and *CAB* that offers an alternative to the ideology of the bush as it is identified in the works of canonical, colonial authors like Lawson and Furphy and by critics and scholars such as Dutton, Green and Barnes. My aim in this chapter will be to show how, following Gardner’s



suggestive comments here, Franklin uses what I will term a romance discourse in which Sybylla's relationship with landscape, including details of flowers, gardens and orchards, allows Franklin to depict Sybylla's emotional and sensual development. Far from being the marginalised figure in the traditional, masculine bush, Sybylla is the central figure empowered by her relationship with landscape. Even where that landscape is inhospitable, such as at Possum Gully or Barney's Gap, Sybylla, nevertheless, learns the range and depth of her emotional "potential."

As critics have recognised, *MBC* offers striking contrasts between images of Possum Gully and Caddagat through descriptions of the landscape and details of flowers, gardens and orchards. The beautiful, lively nature of Caddagat contrasts with the monotony and barrenness of Possum Gully and later, Barney's Gap where Sybylla is sent as a governess. The new house of the Melvyn family at Possum Gully is built on "a barren hillside" (6) which gives Sybylla only "bitter disappointment" (6). The poverty produced by the failure of her father's new business venture and drought in the hot summer increase her disgust for the place and this disgust is illustrated in Sybylla's descriptions of the landscape.

All nature was weary, and seemed to sing a dirge to that effect in the  
furnace-breath wind which roared among the trees on the low ranges at our  
back and smote the parched and thirsty ground. All were weary, all but the sun.  
He seemed to glory in his power, relentless and untiring, as he swung boldly  
in the sky, triumphantly leering down upon his helpless victims. (21)

She experiences nothing but "weariness;" a word which she repeats. She also reiterates the sentence: "Summer is fiendish and life is a curse, I said in my heart" (21, 22), which seems to summarise her life at Possum Gully – hard work, poverty, restlessness and a lack of the glory of youth. This description, drawing on metaphor, personification and vivid imagery, thus acts as a figure or trope for Sybylla's impoverished physical and emotional life.

These descriptions have been acknowledged by critics as realistic representations of the landscape and working life in the bush. Leon Cantrell, in his editing of *The 1890s: Stories, Verse and Essays* (1977), includes chapter five from *MBC*, containing the passage quoted above, in his "Up the Country" section (161-274). This section displays the "main flavour" of "the literary achievement of the nineties," that is, "a recurrent sense of hardship, betrayal and alienation from the full potential of humanity" (162). Cantrell also includes Lawson's short stories and poems, A. B. Paterson's verse, Baynton's "Squeaker's Mate" and other selections. It seems that Cantrell also ignores the romantic aspect of *MBC* and confines the evaluation of Franklin's novel into a traditional – and unquestioned – realism.

Sybylla's view of Barney's Gap is similar to her view of Possum Gully in that her descriptions of impoverished nature can be regarded as opposed to Caddagat. Barney's Gap, is, perhaps, even worse than Possum Gully, where Sybylla's mother's gentility somehow maintains some respectability and pride. Although Sybylla encourages herself, knowing that Mr M'Swat is a good man, even her modest expectations are shattered as she witnesses the house "built in a narrow gully between two steep stony hills, which, destitute of grass, rose like grim walls of rock, imparting a desolate and prison-like aspect" (170). Her unhappiness at Barney's Gap is symbolised and foreshadowed by the desolation of the images of the natural landscape. Barney's Gap, its rough landscape and the impoverished dwelling of the M'Swat family represent, thus, an impoverished spirit, an emotional squalor and a life of unrelieved vulgarity for Sybylla.

Contrary to Possum Gully and Barney's Gap, Caddagat is a delightful place. Sybylla's entrance to Caddagat is matched with her description of the landscape.

A river ran on our right, occasionally a glimmer of its noisy waters visible through the shrubbery which profusely lined its banks. The short evening was drawing to a close. The white mists brought by the rain were crawling slowly down the hills, and settling in the hollows of the ranges on our left. A

V-shaped rift in them, known as Pheasant Gap, came into view. Mr Hawden said it was well named, as it swarmed with lyrebirds. Night was falling. The skreel of a hundred curlews arose from the gullies – how I love their lonely wail! – and it was quite dark when we pulled up before the front gate of Caddagat. (42)

In this description, Sybylla portrays the beautiful and rich landscape in her own clear language which reflects her emotion, her love for this landscape.

In a letter to her sister, Gertie, Sybylla expresses her pleasure at being at Caddagat surrounded by the grandmother, who is “terribly nice,” Aunt Helen who is “an angel” and Uncle who is “a dear old fellow” (83). She also writes about the “splendid facilities for irrigation” (83) which keep the drought away from the paddocks. She continues: “Grannie says there is a splendid promise of fruit in the orchard, and the flower-garden is a perfect dream. This is the dearest old place in the world” (83-84). While abundant water from the irrigation safeguards Caddagat from the drought, its absence is a significant cause of the impoverished life at Possum Gully. Caddagat’s garden and orchard also prosper and the place itself becomes an embodiment of paradise. Water is an essential item to the paradise by allowing the cultivation of soil, flowers, fruits and vegetables and Caddagat’s irrigation combines natural features with successful farming habits. Sybylla’s view of the landscape may be an idealising one but she is not unaware of the need to cultivate nature in order to make it economically successful. She does not idealise a primitive or uncultivated nature. Possum Gully fails because the natural conditions produce drought but also because Sybylla’s father fails as a cultivator.

In this paradisiacal Caddagat, and at the wealthy neighbouring Five-Bob Downs, flowers play an important role: they are a symbol of Sybylla’s happiness. When Sybylla is brought to Five-Bob Downs for the first time, as company for “the elder of the two Misses Beecham” (89), she experiences great feeling. She exclaims with rapture: “How many, many times I have lived those nights over again!” (98). One night is an especially “jovial

night” and it is summarised as follows:

The great room with its rich appointments, the superb piano, the lights, the merriment, the breeze from the east, rich with the heavy intoxicating perfume of countless flowers; the tall perfect figure, holding the violin with a master hand, making it speak the same language as I read in the dark eyes of the musician, while above and around was the soft warmth of an Australian summer night. (98)

Her vision of Caddagat cannot be separated from flowers, either. Lamenting her situation as a governess at Barney’s Gap, Sybylla reminisces of her favorite place: “Oh, the memories that crowd upon me! Methinks I can smell the roses that clamber up the veranda posts and peep over the garden gate” (164). When she leaves Caddagat finally and Frank Hawden drives her away, just as he did when she entered the paradise, flowers are a last image of all she is leaving: “We crossed the singing stream: on either bank great bushes of blackthorn – last native flower of the season – put forth their wealth of magnificent creamy bloom, its rich perfume floating far on the hot summer air” (164). In this way, the beauty and fragrance of flowers, as one element in a romantic vision of sensual richness, symbolise, and eventually idealise, Sybylla’s happiness and youthfulness.

In contrast with Caddagat where flowers are abundant, flowers are scarce at the “stagnant” Possum Gully (8). Sybylla, having been acquainted with this place for about seven years, manages to find some beauty in its scenery.

As regards scenery, the one bit of beauty Possum Gully possessed was its wattles. Bowers of grown and scrubs of young ones adorned the hills and gullies in close proximity to the house, while groves of different species graced the flats. (31)

Nevertheless, “wattles” are not enough for Sybylla to persevere with this “stagnant” life. Her discovery of a trifle of flowers may imply some attachment to Possum Gully but that attachment is slight. While it is curious that the only fraction of beauty at Possum Gully is

also found in flowers, those “wattles” are no match for the opulent flowers in Caddagat; rather, a lack of flowers exemplifies the “stagnant” life at Possum Gully.

Thus, Sybylla uses descriptions of the landscape and flowers to contrast images of Possum Gully, Barney’s Gap, and Caddagat, and in part, Five-Bob Downs. It is important to add a passage, from the very day of Sybylla’s seventeenth birthday, when her sensation of happiness in the paradise of Caddagat reaches a climax. Accordingly, this contrast, particularly between Possum Gully and Caddagat, becomes more conspicuous than ever.

I surrendered myself to the mere joy of being alive. How the sunlight blazed and danced in the roadway – the leaves of the gum-trees gleaming in it like a myriad gems! [ . . . ] The gurgling rush of the creek, the scent of the flower-laden garden, and the stamp, stamp of a horse in the orchard as he attempted to rid himself of tormenting flies, filled my senses. The warmth was delightful. Summer is heavenly, I said – life is a joy. (136)

Sybylla reiterates, “[s]ummer is heavenly and life is a joy” and “[s]ummer is a dream of delight and life is a joy” (137) which clearly contrast with “[s]ummer is fiendish and life is a curse.” Just as Sybylla uses poetical language to symbolise her impoverished life at Possum Gully 115 pages earlier, so she again exploits metaphor, personification and vivid imagery to symbolise this pleasant time in her life.

Conversely, Five-Bob Downs loses its beautiful flowers, gardens and orchards as a result of financial failure. When the master, Harold, is rich and stable, the garden thrills Sybylla with its beauty. She claims: “The odour from the six-acred flower-garden was overpowering and delightful. [ . . . ] Ah! beautiful, beautiful Five-Bob Downs!” (90). However, when the property loses its status as paradise, the garden and orchard become desolate.

It was sad to think of Five-Bob [ . . . ] with flowers running to seed unheeded in the wide old garden, grass yellowing on the lawns, fruit wasting in wain-loads in the great orchard, kennels, stables, fowl-houses, and cow-yards empty and

deserted. (158)

This passage most clearly tells that the beauty of the natural world is linked with the economic wealth to which happiness, from a Sybylla's point of view, is largely ascribed. Five-Bob Downs, like Caddagat, is a physically beautiful natural landscape for Sybylla but that beauty is enriched and supported by its economic success.

In *CAB*, descriptions of landscape, flowers, gardens and orchards are structured in a similar manner to those in *MBC*: Stillwater and Ajinby are contrasted by the distinction of their landscapes, though Stillwater does not appear very much in this usually happy memoir. This contrast is a significant thematic link to that of *MBC* and, in fact, the words such as "paradise" and "Eden" are often used in *CAB*. For example, Ajinby is obviously identified as "paradise" and "Eden" as chapter twenty, "Return to Paradise," and twenty-seven, "Exit from Eden," show. Just as Possum Gully gives Sybylla "disappointment," so Stillwater gives Franklin "a sense of desolation" (95).

Oh, Ajinby, with its river, its creeks, large and small, full of fish, its wealth of orchards and ornamental trees, its flower gardens with pomegranates and magnolias! Here there were no rocks or ferns at all. There were no permanently running creeks, only weedy waterholes. Mother names the place Stillwater. (96)

At Stillwater, life stagnates and rots; the water produces weedy, rank waterholes rather than fruitfulness. When Franklin, like Sybylla, is sent back to Stillwater/Possum Gully, she is surely sad because she has to leave all the richness of fruits, flowers and vegetables and return home where there is "not one fruit-tree" and where it is impossible to make an orchard (154).

In *CAB*, as in *MBC*, flowers represent Franklin's happy memories. When she visits Uncle William and Aunt Lizzie at Gool Gool, she goes to "Sundayschool" with Aunt Lizzie's two little grand-daughters. She recalls that it is a hot November day and, on the way, she finds many flowers:

[. . .] we walked in the soft dust of the rich soil through lanes rife with English hedge roses – climbers almost as lovely as the banksia vine at Ajinby, but the clusters of bloom instead of pale gold were pink and white, and perfumed, superior to the scentless Dorothy Perkins of later fashion. (43)

The memory of the next day's "Sundayschool picnic" feast is also abundant with flowers: "I was captivated by the masses of cut flowers that beautified the long tables. [. . .] The memory of my mother town is inseparable from the scent of roses, overpowering as they wilted in the heat" (45). The scent of flowers is also the essence of the paradisiacal garden. She pictures her mother's garden at Bobilla: the memory is full of flower names and one of them is "a lilac-tree with glorious blossoms and a perfume of paradise never to be forgotten, never to be confused with any other" (51). It is notable that Franklin as a child clearly holds these memories of flowers along with the happy events. Indeed, this memoir, the record of her happy childhood, is inseparable from the flower descriptions.

Given these examples from *MBC* and *CAB*, I argue that Sybylla and Franklin use representations of the landscape, flowers, gardens and orchards to figure their emotional responses to their lives and the environment. In these representations, their language is not unified: there are complex exchanges of lucid and straightforward language with metaphorical and poetic language. Both the "realist" descriptions of dreary and oppressive landscapes and the "romantic" descriptions of idealised places depend upon Franklin's skilful use of metaphorical and poetic language. This complex language expresses Sybylla's and Franklin's own emotions. According to these responses, it is obvious that they love Caddagat and Ajinby whereas Possum Gully and Stillwater exhaust them physically and emotionally. It is important to remember that *MBC* is narrated by Sybylla and *CAB* by Franklin; reading the texts closely from their perspectives enables us to discover these parallel uses of language.

Sybylla's and Franklin's language forms a discourse, when they describe Caddagat and Ajinby, to express powerful and positive emotion. Sybylla's power becomes especially

conspicuous as she writes on her seventeenth birthday:

I was just seventeen, only seventeen, and had a long life before me wherein to enjoy myself. Oh, it was good to be alive! What a delightful place the world was! – so accommodating, I felt complete mistress of it. (137)

In this “world” of natural and economical wealth in which Sybylla is the “complete mistress,” she becomes “a ‘romance heroine’” (Docker “Antipodean” 104). She creates her own romance discourse by which she, as Gardner has suggested, depicts herself “coming to awareness of [her] potential” (41).

In *MBC*, under Sybylla’s romance discourse, flowers, gardens and orchards have specific roles to play for her in the Edenic Caddagat: they are her contentment and ease her “ruffled feelings” (65) and “wounded vanity” (67). When Everard Grey, who is her grandmother’s adopted son working as a barrister in Sydney and staying temporarily at Caddagat, praises her figure, style and face, she thinks he only flatters her. She believes in her ugliness so firmly that her pride is wounded by Everard’s “flattery.” But her “burning discontent and ill-humour” are “soothed by the scent of roses and the gleam of soft spring sunshine which streamed in through [her] open window” (65). And then, her “ruffled feelings gave way before the delights of the old garden” (65).

Shortly after, she eavesdrops on the talk between Aunt Helen and Everard about herself and finds that Everard has an idea of marrying her to promote a career for her on stage.

I waited to hear no more, but, brimming over with a mixture of emotions, tore through the garden and into the old orchard. Bees were busy, and countless bright-coloured butterflies flitted hither and thither, sipping from hundreds of trees, white or pink with bloom – their beauty was lost upon me. I stood ankle-deep in violets, where they had run wild under a gnarled old apple-tree, and gave way to my wounded vanity. (67)

Though her “wounded vanity” is too aggrieved to be overcome this time, it is clear that



she escapes to the garden and orchard to release herself from the emotional disappointment of reality, that is, Everard's marriage plans. Thus, the garden, orchard and flowers are significant for comforting her, or soothing her sensitiveness worn in the world of reality – represented in her pride and vanity – and place her in the safety of Eden. Sybylla's sense of her potential as an emotional being is restored by her escape to the garden and orchard.

Flowers in the garden can also become the symbol of Sybylla's femininity, specifically, her sexual attractiveness to the opposite sex, in particular, to Harold Beecham. On the following day after their first meeting, Harold and Uncle Jay Jay go to round up Harold's bullocks the Bossiers have been fattening on their land. When Harold finds Sybylla, she is "standing in a bed of violets in a tangled corner of the garden, where roses climbed to kiss the lilacs, and spiraea stooped to rest upon the wallflowers, and where two tall kurrajongs stood like sentries over all" (81). Uncle complains to Harold, who leaves the bullocks to him and starts to linger with Sybylla, saying: "Women [ . . . ] [are] the bane of society and the ruination of all men" (81). Uncle refers to a possibility, not seriously perhaps, that Harold may be infatuated with a woman and will abandon his job, just like those other men who ruin themselves for women.

Uncle's teasing suggestion of Sybylla as "the bane of society and the ruination of all men" is undercut by her position in this setting: beset with flowers. These flowers embellish her feminine quality for which Harold could be ruined, as Uncle warns. This feminine and sexual quality of Sybylla's belongs to her power as a woman who can "ruin" a man rather than being subjugated by him. I interpret this conjunction of flowers in the garden and Sybylla's femininity as representing a "positive" power, at least for Sybylla. Her "potential" – sensual and feminine – is accentuated rather than diminished by her placement in a paradisiacal setting. The suggestion is that for Harold to be "ruined" by Sybylla would be a positive achievement, marriage, for both of them. As the narrative unfolds, however, this suggestion will prove to be problematic because Sybylla's notion of

fulfilling her “potential” will not accord with Harold’s merely conventional ideas.

Not every woman with flowers can attract and dominate Harold; in fact, only Sybylla can. On 9 November 1896, the Prince of Wales’s birthday and the day of the annual horseraces, Sybylla sees a tall, beautiful woman with Harold. When Sybylla, her aunt and grandmother are in the buggy which Uncle drives on the way to the races, they encounter Harold’s drag in which there are only young ladies except for the driver, Harold. One of the ladies’ “very big hat” with “all ruffles, flowers, and plumes” (115) is outstanding beside him. Uncle makes fun of Sybylla who rejects his offer to ask Harold to let her join their drag: “Got faint-hearted, did you? The flower-garden on that woman’s hat corked your chances altogether” (115). After they arrive, Sybylla does not join her aunt and grandmother who go to talk to Harold and the ladies. Uncle teases her again, assuming that she is jealous of the lady with the hat: “You mustn’t let a five-guinea hat destroy your hopes altogether” (116).

However, this beautiful and tall lady, Miss Derrick, who is “one of the greatest beauties” (119) in Melbourne, does not attract Harold. Her conventional womanliness, for instance her “disdainful” (119) attitude to poor men, is represented by this artificial “much trimmed hat” (119). Although Miss Derrick is “the full-blown rose” herself with “nothing appertaining to girlhood” (119), her “flower-garden” hat only symbolises her artificiality and triviality. Sybylla, in her “crushed white muslin dress” (122) but with “[c]rimson and cream roses” (121) which Aunt Helen plucked, is superior to Miss Derrick whose silk dress and abundant jewelry, as well as artificial flowers, signify her “insipid[ness]” (122). On that night, Harold proposes marriage to Sybylla, showing the reader that Sybylla is chosen over Miss Derrick.

It is striking that flowers are used as both “positive” and “negative” metaphors for women. Sybylla is empowered by flowers that link with her female sexuality with a “potential” to dominate and control Harold; on the other hand, flowers are also used as a metaphor for the conventional and pejorative femininity of Miss Derrick. Although Miss

Derrick, described as a perfect beauty, could be more suitable as a heroine of conventional romance, in this dominant romance discourse under the control of Sybylla's narrative, Sybylla's unconventional attractiveness is triumphant. Evidently, Sybylla captivates at least four men, though differing in degrees, during her sojourn at Caddagat: Frank Howden, Everard Grey, Harold Beecham and Archie Goodchum whom Harold brings to Caddagat on Sybylla's seventeenth birthday and of whom Harold becomes jealous.

The romance of Sybylla and Harold occurs in the paradise of Caddagat. In fact, many momentous events in their relationship take place in either the garden or the orchard. Their first meeting in the backyard is not through a conventional, proper introduction. Sybylla, dressed as though "a female clown" (75), is in the backyard to pluck lemons as Aunt Helen requests. Harold appears, mistakes her for a servant-girl and his gaze at her is, frankly, sexual. He deposits her from the ladder and says: "You're a mighty well-shaped young filly – 'a waist rather small, but a quarter superb'" (76). He even demands that she kiss him. Refusing the kiss, he now tests her "grit" (77), ordering her to stand still in the middle of the yard in spite of the heavy stock-whip he uncurls.

Though Sybylla's dressing like "a female clown" does not make her the conventional romance heroine, Harold's sexual gaze at her, his reference to her figure and his demand for her kiss are enough to render her, at the very least, feminine and sensually powerful. In fact, her attractiveness for Harold is marked from this very beginning; he confesses to her at marriage proposal that: "Surely you have known what I've been driving at ever since I first clapped eyes on you" (124).

Their first encounter is thus, in some ways, unconventional but their first rendezvous conventionally takes place in the garden. They are now introduced properly by Aunt Helen; this embarrasses Harold but amuses Sybylla.

The evening was balmy, so I invited him into the garden. He threw his handkerchief over my chest, saying I might catch cold, but I scouted the idea.

We wandered into an arbour covered with wistaria, banksia, and Marechal

Niel roses, and I made him a buttonhole. (79-80)

Sybylla is now dressed beautifully with the “blue evening dress, satin slippers” (77), appropriate for the romance heroine. This proper first date in the garden, playing with flowers, locates Sybylla within the conventional romance narrative. So, *MBC* includes a conventional romance narrative together with a romance discourse that describes, as I argue, the less conventional aspects of Sybylla’s feminine and sexual experience.

Harold’s marriage proposal to Sybylla, one of the vital moments in their relationship, also happens in the garden. On the day of the horse-races, Sybylla stays at Five-Bob Downs with Aunt Helen. After the dinner and some dancing, Harold leads her “in the direction of a detached building in the garden” which is “Harold’s particular domain” (124). There she experiences a confession of love from him, though she is disappointed with his “matter-of-fact coolness” (124). Apparently, she is discontented with his manner of speech because it lacks the romantic passion which the confession of love is expected to convey. However, understanding his quiet character, on the next day, she requests the state of engagement as “three months’ probation” (130). Despite her desire to follow the conventional romantic process of love, Sybylla refuses to accept the status of a conventional fiancée: instead, she insists on turning the promise of marriage into a “three months’ probation.”

Their ambiguous engagement is ruptured by Harold’s outrageous jealousy. Upset with the familiar atmosphere between Sybylla and Mr Goodchum, Harold’s friend and the bank clerk, Harold castigates Sybylla for her “conduct with other men” (143). At this moment of the clash, they are in the orchard, one of Sybylla’s favorite places, which she describes as follows:

The Caddagat orchard contained six acres, and being a narrow enclosure, and the cherries growing at the extreme end from the house, it took us some time to reach them. I led the way to our destination – a secluded nook where grape-vines clambered up fig-trees, and where the top of gooseberry bushes

met the lower limbs of cherry-trees. Blue and yellow lupins stood knee-high, and strawberries grew wild among them. (142)

Although their argument ends in their separation, Sybylla regrets that she is in the wrong and begs his forgiveness. They eventually restore their relationship. The orchard – a place linked elsewhere with beauty, wealth and well-being – is the site for a serious emotional struggle between Sybylla and Harold. Rather than a conventional date of lovers, this scene shows the strength of Sybylla's commitment to her desire to govern her own life and her relationships with men; her desire to be independent. Harold's jealousy is also powerful. Their struggle here foreshadows the question of male dominance and female subservience that will eventually prevent the conventional ending to their romance.

The orchard is also the location for the conversation of Sybylla and Harold containing the bird imagery – a tomtit as a metaphor for Sybylla – that I have discussed in the previous chapter. As I quoted there, Docker points out that *MBC* explores Sybylla's desire for independence in "Australian rural society, selector or squatter, outside of marriage" (*Critical Condition* 139) and that the passage, including this conversation, "shows the vitality in the period of writing on women's situation, attitudes, and dilemmas" (139). This tomtit is a metaphor for Sybylla who identifies with the landscape or nature in which she wields power: Sybylla as the tomtit refuses to be "caged." In other words, this "vitality" is derived from Sybylla's "coming to awareness of [her] potential."

Sybylla's realisation of failure and its possibility to threaten and change her life also occur in the garden. Sybylla learns the news that Harold has lost his money and property when she is in a hammock "swinging under a couple of trees in an enclosure, half shrubbery, partly orchard and vegetable garden, skirting the road" (149). Although she becomes speechless in front of him, his misfortune reminds her of her own experience and life at Possum Gully. Therefore, her sincere sympathy for him leads her to offer marriage to him even if he is poor. She says to him: "If you really want me, I will marry you when I am twenty-one if you are as poor as a crow" (152). The suggestion is that she now offers

the “promise” of marriage, rather than an ambiguous state of engagement, with an expectation that poverty makes husband and wife equal. The garden is thus the place where she learns again the effect of finance upon life and considers marriage as her realistic future plan. Although she caricatures this idea of equal marriage immediately after, saying that “[t]he world was made for men” (152), another “potential” of hers is implied here: an unconventional status of wife equal to husband.

The last rendezvous takes place in the orchard when Harold visits Caddagat for the last time on 20 December 1896, the day before he vacates Five-Bob Downs. Sybylla suggests “he should come up the orchard with [her] and get some gooseberries” (154) for a private interview here. She suggests that the promise of marriage is valid only when he remains poor: “Go and be the man you are; and if you fail, when I am twenty-one I will marry you, and we will help each other” (154). However, she is also aware of Harold’s incapacity of comprehending her “queer[ness] and differen[ce] from other women” (156). Moreover, she asserts that she “[does] not want to marry” (156) and her offer of marriage to Harold is due to her wish “to help a brother through life” (156), in other words, her respect of equal comradeship rather than conventional womanly love for him. Therefore, she cannot acknowledge a conventional outcome of marriage, i.e. becoming the mother of his children, and “[can] not use the word wife” (156) to him. In this way, in the orchard, as Sybylla and Harold have had conflict over their relationship and she has clarified her desire to be independent, her powerful, consistent opinion on marriage – contempt for conventional marriage and preferring an unconventional one – is articulated.

Harold’s absence does not affect Sybylla’s happiness at Caddagat. Although she is sad to lose Harold and misses his presence, thinking about enjoyable future events is enough to make her feel: “Yes, life was a pleasant thing to me now” (159). The Beechams’ withdrawal from Five-Bob Downs deprives the place of the beauty of the garden and orchard but the absence of Harold, the hero of romance, does not suppress Sybylla’s vision of the beautiful landscape, nor her delight in the beauty and fruitfulness of the garden and

orchard.

Redeemed from Barney's Gap and back at Possum Gully, amid the poverty and hard work, Sybylla reminisces of her happy days at Caddagat.

I closed my eyes, and before my mental vision there arose an overgrown old orchard, skirting one of the great stock-routes from Riverina to Monaro. A glorious day was languidly smiling good night on abundance of ripe and ripening fruit and flowers. The scent of stock and the merry cry of the tennis-players filled the air. I could feel Harold's wild jolting heart-beats, his burning breath on my brow, and his voice husky with rage in my ear. (209)

Significantly, Sybylla remembers Harold as her lover in this vision. The physical beauty of the Monaro combines with her memory of Harold's sexual passion. This memory also suggests that Sybylla cannot imagine such sexual passion in the context of Possum Gully. Although Harold is now poor – like her father – her language for her experience of sexuality is limited to the romance discourse of Caddagat.

Thus, Sybylla's romance with Harold is finished. She does not want to marry him who is the rich master again. Even when he visits Possum Gully to "take possession of" (208) her on 3 December 1898, she does not change her mind. On their way back from the church next day, Sunday, they pass the wretched orchards of Possum Gully.

The heat was intense. We wiped the perspiration and flies from our face frequently, and disturbed millions of grasshoppers as we walked. They had devoured all the fruit in the orchards about, and had even destroyed many of the trees by eating the bark, and now they were stripping the briers of foliage. In one orchard we passed, the apricot, plum, and peach-stones hung naked on their leafless trees as evidence of their ravages. It was too hot to indulge in any but the most desultory conversation. (219)

These destitute orchards symbolise Sybylla's response to Harold's love. Although she misunderstands at this stage – thinking that he loves Gertie, her eleven-month younger

sister and now staying at Caddagat and that he does not love her anymore – what is evident is that, for her, their romance has been terminated. Even the hot summer can be replaced with chilly sea-breeze:

A blue sea-breeze, redolent of the bush-fires which were raging at Tocumwal and Bombala, came rushing and roaring over the ranges from the east, and enshrouded the scene in its heavy fog-like folds. The sun was obscured, and the temperature suddenly took such a great drop that I felt chilled in my flimsy clothing, and I noticed Harold draw his coat together. (219)

Although their love does not extend beyond paradisiacal Caddagat, the powerful emotion of sexual love – this time its failure – and Sybylla's consistent rejection of conventional marriage are once again expressed through her descriptions of the orchard and landscape.

Last, I would like to investigate representations of the garden in *CAB* and consider them in the context of Australian women's tradition. Chapter eleven, "Gardening," introduces a practical aspect of the garden: the work required creating and maintaining the garden. Franklin depicts the significance of gardens for her family and their life. For instance, vegetable gardens and orchards are the fruit of the cooperation between men and women. Franklin recalls:

My mother's generation, regardless of sex, could prune and graft and bud orchard trees as a matter of course. Tremendous labour by my father went to the making of Mother's garden [. . .] (50)

Franklin also writes of the sexual division of labour exercised in gardening.

Grandpa was a rabid gardener in the vegetable domain. The sexes were separated in gardening. Men were proud of their women's gardens and did the heavy work for them but would have considered it effeminate themselves to potter with flowers. Indeed, they had little time in the ceaseless struggle to make homes in the bush, but a plot of vegetables was important where each had to grow his own or live by beef and bread alone (54).



It is clear that the flower gardens are the women's domain and an emblem of femininity.

In fact, in *CAB*, the garden is frequently a woman's possession; for example, "Aunt Ignez's flower garden" (32), "Aunt's [Aunt Lizzie's] garden" (42), "Mother's garden" (52) and so on. Among them, the grandmother's status is outstanding. The garden and orchard are measures of the grandmother's power as a matriarch. Franklin portrays her grandmother as follows:

In my estimation my grandmother equalled God, with beneficent resources and powers, and my aunts and uncles ranked as seraphim and cherubim. She had authority and self-reliance gained in running the whole station from the time the eldest of her children had been fifteen years old and she in a more hampered position than a widow's with her husband blind and helpless from an injured spine (24).

Under the grandmother's control, everything is in "[o]rder, plenty, decency, industry and hospitality" (25):

Her haysheds and other storehouses were always well-stocked for winter with the yield from her orchards, potato and pumpkin paddocks, her fowlhouses, her dairy and vegetable garden. She grew and cured her own bacon as well as her own beef. Her streams were full of native trout and Murray cod. (25)

It is the grandmother who controls even the natural food on which the family depends. Yet, her power is best exercised through her control over the garden, orchard and others, that is, the domestic world. A chapter is dedicated, especially, to the grandmother's orchard that is "the most lovable orchard in the world" (118).

The garden as the feminised place has social and political signification as David Goodman's essay, "The Politics of Horticulture" (1988) demonstrates. Goodman argues that the garden is the "metaphor for and index of adaption to a new land" (404) in that gardening was equalled to cultivation of the soil and civilisation, which was placed, in the 1830s, in the masculine discourse of the British Empire (405). In the mid to late nineteenth

century, gardening became widespread in the middle class. During this century, the garden was also feminised and “horticulture was now celebrated primarily as one of the domestic virtues” (407). And the quality of the land, which was capable of “the plants of home” (407) in England, was rhetorically used “to the radical desire to open up the lands of the colony, and break the squatters’ monopoly” (408). “The politics of horticulture” thus has a history of its own as a discourse. Cultivation was implicitly justified as “the moral ground of expropriation” (409). “Feminisation of the garden” appears within this discourse of the masculine horticulture.

However, Susan Hosking, in “‘I’ Ad to ‘Ave Me Garden:’ A Perspective on Australian Women Gardeners” (1988), focuses on Australian women’s relationship with the garden as their domain. Hosking compares contemporaneous publications on gardening by a man and woman in the end of the nineteenth century. Then she discovers “the differences between men’s and women’s attitudes to gardening: mystification and secrets versus shared knowledge, science versus nurturing, commerce versus gifts, imposed order versus natural burgeoning, competition versus participation, and specimens versus just plain plants and flowers” (443). Referring to Phyllis Somerville’s *Not Only in Stone* (1942) as a literary example and Louisa Lawson’s rage against the invasion of her garden, Hosking writes:

Whichever way we look at it, a woman’s garden represents a buffer zone between the confines of the house and the hazardous territory outside. But the evidence of life and literature seems overwhelmingly to suggest that, for the majority of green-fingered women, gardening is a reaching out, a glorious extension into the world, and an opportunity for the assertion of female rights and values. (445)

Gardens have reflected the current in society and politics as Goodman’s essay shows; on the other hand, Hosking looks into women’s close association with the garden regardless of the masculine political discourse. I consider that Franklin is not preoccupied

with political matters when describing the garden as woman's domain even though she might be familiar with the politics and nationalism of the late nineteenth century. As Helen Thomson also writes: "The Australian garden was at least potentially and sometimes actually, a place of their own for women" (23). Franklin's admiration of the garden and orchard in *CAB* is her celebration of "the assertion of female rights and values" for their "association with fruitfulness and nurturing" (Thomson 23).

The gardens and orchards, described in *CAB*, sometimes emphasise their Britishness,<sup>13</sup> for which fruit becomes a symbol. Franklin happens to find gizzard plums in England at a fruiterer's, which she could not see "anywhere but in Grandma's orchard" (132) and whose name she thought was "our private name" (133). She was "thoroughly dumbfounded" by this discovery and then writes: "I sallied out dazed, never more integrally of the British Empire" (133).

I have discussed Sybylla's affection to the landscape as comparable to colonial women's relationship to the landscape and, by analogy, Franklin's delight in the Britishness of this "Australian" fruit can be interpreted within the colonial women's association with their gardens. Delys Bird examines Georgiana Molloy's English garden in the 1830s: she "adjusts to her environment, domesticating the landscape by planting an English garden" ("Gender and Landscape" 32) when she lost her first baby and experienced loneliness with only her husband beside her. Creating her own "English" garden thus enabled Mrs Molloy to overcome the grief over the loss of her baby and encourage herself. Dorothy Jones, in "Cultivating Empire: The Gardens Women Write" (1998) examines women's gardens under the discourse of British colonialism and also writes that English flowers and gardens were important for women colonists in order to familiarise themselves with the landscape (34-35).

Significantly, John Barnes writes that English colonists, both men and women, tried to familiarise themselves with the strange scenery, by identifying it with that of their home country (93-96). Bird likewise suggests that colonial women's depiction of the Australian

landscape as “picturesque” may also derive from their effort to Europeanise – humanise – the landscape. In fact, this is their effort to “displace or deny that strangeness, bringing the landscape under their linguistic and cultural control” (Bird 28). English gardens laid out by colonial women also reflect their effort to accommodate themselves to their new places by planting familiar plants and flowers.

I read Franklin’s delight in her discovery of gizzard plums in England as identifiable with this colonial women’s attachment to their gardens. As English colonial women felt familiar with Australia through English gardens, Franklin felt more close to England through gizzard plums, which she believed to be the Australian fruit. Thus, for Franklin, gizzard plums become a symbol of both the Australian native and Englishness, linking the grandmother and eventually herself with the “British Empire.” Through this binary symbol, Franklin is able to position herself in the broader tradition, not only as an Australian local but also as a successor of English colonial women. Therefore, just as Franklin and Sybylla share a positive sentiment in their relationship to the Australian landscape with colonial women, so Franklin’s descriptions of, and love for, the garden and orchard evoke the emotional significance that colonial women found in their gardens.

My investigation of the representations of landscape, flowers, gardens and orchards in *MBC* and *CAB* has disclosed a powerful romance discourse in these texts which should not be identified with the conventional, pejorative feminine romance, a genre often subordinated to the superior realism. When the masculine bush produces an ideal image of sun-burnt, hardworking bushmen bonded with mateship in the mystical or harsh landscape, the feminine bush becomes part of the friendly landscape in which women feel at ease and this spontaneous response forms a female tradition. This female tradition is not an ideal or a myth which poets and novelists consciously internalise and reproduce in their writings. The commonality of women’s relationship to landscape is unencumbered with the intervention of the dominant masculine ideology since it has been marginalised and left untouched. Surrounded by this feminised landscape, Sybylla allows herself to develop.

This development is neither literal nor didactic; the reason why some critics consider her as immature. Instead, her development is emotional, sensual – even erotic – unconventional and individual, suggesting the process of her awakening to various “potential[s]” as a female being.

Based on my reading of *MBC* and *CAB* as dominated by the romance discourse, the garden as a metaphor in these Franklin’s texts is an important item for the Australian women’s tradition and an imaginary space in which Sybylla and Franklin generate their own power. In the garden, Sybylla expresses her sensual potential, folding flowers around her, recognisable to herself, Harold and the reader. In *CAB*, Franklin articulates women’s possession of the garden, for which the grandmother’s status is the foremost example, originating from colonial women’s association with the garden. The garden, therefore, represents a femininity by which women acquire a sense of belonging and are empowered, not subordinated by masculinity, to express their “feminine” emotions.

### **Gardens in Ichiyô’s Writing**

Although there are many traditional uses of the garden in Ichiyô’s writings, I will focus on her specific uses of the garden in her diaries, *Utsusemi* [Empty Days] (1895), *Yamiyo* [Encounters on a Dark Night] (1894) and *Warekara* [Destructive Fate] (1896). I will argue that the gardens in these texts are complex places which reflect the women characters’ emotions and lives in relation to the men characters. Reading these texts as intertexts, the garden also symbolises Ichiyô’s important thematic, that is, her protest against men who confine women and their lives to masculine rules and systems.

There are a number of traditional images of the garden in Ichiyô’s writings: almost every work includes the garden as a setting, in descriptions, and in scenery. For example, the garden scene in *Tamadasuki* [Jeweled Sleeve Band] (1892) resembles one of the

scenes in *The Tale of Genji* [源氏物語] (Yamada 192). In her diaries, the garden is an artistic place where Ichiyô perceives the beauty of nature and the changing of seasons poetically.<sup>14</sup> This poetical garden is depicted in her essays written in her last house: like birds, the garden represents her sensitivity to pathos.

However, I will confine my analysis to Ichiyô's diaries, *Utsusemi*, *Yamiyo* and *Warekara* in which the garden is not only a momentous setting but also connects to significant themes. A record in Ichiyô's diaries shows her emotional attachment to the garden which is the symbol of her father's legacy, samurai status. On the other hand, in *Utsusemi*, the garden is a part of the house in which the mad heroine is confined. Although the heroine's mansion in *Yamiyo* is similar to some "Romanesque" (Maeda "The Establishment" 292) settings in *The Tale of Genji*, the desolate and savage garden and the bottomless pond are the emblem of the mysteriousness and grotesqueness of the mansion. The garden in *Warekara* does not give Machi a sense of relief; instead, she feels sad and lonely in the garden.

On 15 July 1893, Ichiyô went out to look for a house with Kuniko: they wanted one with a low rent and where they could escape observation and run the shop. For that reason, they were walking around crowded places with small houses where poor people were living. Ichiyô writes as if to sigh:

It's been several years since we first fell on hard times, but until now we've always managed to live in a house, albeit a tiny one, that had a proper gate and a front door with a lattice, at least. We've had a garden with trees in it and a sitting room with an alcove. In the houses downtown that we've seen so far, however, the ceilings are covered with so much soot that it's depressing to look up at them, the pillars are bent, the floors are sinking, the eaves touch the next house, the back doors are lined up one after another. As if all this isn't bad enough, most of the places don't even have matting on the floor, or any sliding doors to separate the rooms. They are houses in name only. [はやうより

世に落はふれて、たよりなくささやかなる処にのみすみけるものから、猶門格子はかならずあり、庭には木立あり、家には床あるものとならひけるを、天井といはば、くろくすすけて仰ぐも憂く、柱ゆがみ、ゆかひくく、軒は軒につづき、勝手もとは勝手元に並びぬ。さるが上に、大方は畳もなく、ふすまもなく、唯家といふ名計をかす成けり。] (3: 199 *Chiri no naka* [塵之中]; Danly 89)

Ichiyô was obviously disillusioned with these houses she had inspected. But she and her sister found a better house with two rooms and a space for the shop. Yet, this house lacked one vital item: a garden. They went back home to tell their mother about the house. Then the Higuchi women decided that they did not want to live in the crowded downtown area and resolved to look around in different districts. Ichiyô explains the reason clearly: "We really did have to have a garden" [庭のほしければなり。] (200; Danly 89).

Two days after, 17 July, they finally agreed on a small house.

We went to look for a house around Shitaya. Because Kuniko was so tired that she didn't want to go, mother and I went. [...] We went farther to Ryûsenji-chô and we found a house that measured two kens by six. [...] Though without any furniture, the house looked convenient as it faced south and north. The deposit was three yen and the rent was one yen and fifty sen a month. Besides, there was a garden though small. I also liked the trees at the back although they didn't belong to the house. [家を下谷辺に尋ぬ。国子のしきりにつかれて行ことをいなめば、母君と二人にて也。(...) 行々て竜泉寺丁と呼ぶ処に、間口二間、奥行六間計なる家あり。(...) 雑作はなけれど、店は六畳にて、五畳と三畳の座敷あり。向きも南と北にして、都合わるからず見ゆ。「三円の敷金にて、月一円五十銭」といふに、いささかなれども庭もあり。其家のにはあらねど、うらに木立どものいと多かるもよし。] (201)

The garden is important for the Higuchi women's self-esteem. It is one of the items, along with the gate, latticed door, alcove in the drawing room, that embody the prosperity when the father, Noriyoshi, was alive and the family was better off. Although Ichiyô

acknowledges her poverty, their past houses with these items saved their sense of pride. She cannot imagine herself identifying with people living in those poor houses. She implicitly distinguishes herself from them. This pride may spring from Ichiyô's preoccupation with the samurai status. Though her father enjoyed his samurai status for only several months because of the Meiji Restoration, it is highly possible that his adherence to position of samurai class influenced his family, including Ichiyô.

Shimaki Ei, in her critical biography of Ichiyô, argues that the poverty of the Higuchi household was not too serious in the sense that Ichiyô could keep her relationship with people at *Haginoya*, entertain guests, and aim for a house with a garden and so on. Shimaki writes that the Higuchi women were able to lead a life which kept up appearances as descendants of samurai (30-31). Imai Kuniko also writes, based on her conversation with Baba Kochô, that Higuchi women's problem with their poverty was due to their struggle against debasement to the lower class (66-67).

Possession of the garden is thus required to give the Higuchi women a psychological boost for their survival in the harsh society, especially considering that the Higuchi household consisted only of women. In order to survive in that society, in which masculinity is the norm, the Higuchi women had to rely on the vestige of Noriyoshi's power. Ichiyô actually becomes apprehensive about their man-less household and writes on 20 July, on the very day that they move in:

Living in a row house, we have only one wall between us and our neighbors, a rickshawman and his family, I hear. These are the kind of people who will be our customers; I hope we won't rub any of them the wrong way. Everyone says people near the quarter are barbarians. Without a man in the house, I'm afraid we're in for some rough treatment. [家は長屋だてなれば、壁一重には人力ひくおとこども住むめり。商ひをはじめての後はいかならむ。其ものどももお客なれば気げんにさからはじとつとむるにこそ。『くるわ近く人気あしき処』と人々語りきかせたるが、男気なき家の、いかにあなづられてくやしき事ども多からむ。] (202;



Danly 91-92)

The heroine of *Utsusemi* [Empty Days], Yukiko, has been mad since her lover, Uemura Rokurô, killed himself. Her wealthy parents, unable to put her in the hospital in fear of the public eye, have had to look for a new house frequently for their daughter. Now Yukiko and her servants have moved to a small house but with a wide garden. Yukiko believes that it is her fault that Rokurô committed suicide because she did not tell him that she had a fiancé, Masao, who was treated as her brother since his adoption by her parents. Although her parents and Masao try to persuade her otherwise, her condition does not improve.

Mitsutani Margaret argues that Yukiko experiences the Japanese version of “the domestication of madness” as she is put under surveillance in the small house (“Madness” 75). The house is described as follows:

There are five rooms including a three tatami-mat room near the doorway. Although the house is thus small, it is well ventilated from north to south. The garden is big and trees in the shrubbery are thick. This is the perfect house to live in summer. [家の間数は三畳敷きの玄関までを入れて五間、手狭なれども、北南吹とほしの風入りよく、庭は広々として植込みの木立も茂ければ、夏の住居にうってつけ ( . . . )] (2: 89)

A male servant and two female servants, in addition to Yukiko, always live there and her parents and Masao often visit her. When Masao visits the house for the first time, one of the female servants, the cook, explains to him: “Because the garden is big and it is a quiet area, I suppose this house is good for her condition” [( . . . ) お庭も広う御座りますし、四隣が遠うござりますので、御気分の為にも良からうかと存じます。] (91).

It is important that the cause of Yukiko’s madness originates from her dilemma about her love and marriage: she loves Rokurô but she, as a filial child, must marry Masao. She is the victim of the “ie,” and now she is literally confined to the house. The big garden seems the positive item to this small house but, in fact, it secludes the house from the

outside world, and so it is a part of confinement, part of “the domestication of madness.” Masao attempts to persuade her rationally in that he begs her to be a dutiful child to her parents again; however, these “‘rational’ words” [「合理的な」言葉] (Mitsutani “Madness” 77) do not appeal to the insane Yukiko. More ironically, she does not see the house as confinement: “She sees the house as a wide field” [家の中をば廣き野原と見て] (103).

In *Yamiyo* [Encounters on a Dark Night], the twenty-five-year-old heroine, Matsukawa Oran, lives a secluded life in a large but desolate house fenced by the garden wall with her old servants, Sasuke and his wife Osoyo. On the night of 28 May by the lunar calendar, there is an accident in front of the gate: a young man, Takagi Naojirô, nineteen years old, is hit by the wheels of a carriage. The old couple take him in and they and Oran take care of his injury. Learning that Naojirô has no family of his own and no place to live, they encourage him to stay and then he gradually adjusts to the place as a new servant and worshipper of Oran, just like the old couple.

At the Matsukawas’ house, Naojirô often works in the big wild garden. One early morning, Oran goes to the garden with him to pick flowers for the anniversary of her father’s death. Beside the pond, Oran tells Naojirô that her father drowned in the pond eight years ago. Her father was manipulated by a young man, Namizaki Tadayou, who became a politician by her father’s wealth and who was expected to marry Oran. However, her father lost his money in speculation and Namizaki turned his back to the Matsukawa family. Still in love with Namizaki, Oran waited for his return until the autumn of her twenty-fifth year, keeping her chastity, when he married an aristocratic woman.

On an autumn evening, Oran receives a letter from Namizaki saying that he waits to see her at a pied-à-terre. But she declines politely on the surface and derides his suggestion that she be his mistress. Naojirô learns that Namizaki’s carriage is the one that hit him and he tells Oran on that night that he wants to leave the house and die. He is jealous of Namizaki and cannot control his love for her. Oran, persuaded by his sincerity, now responds to his love and tells him that she is now his wife. She asks him to kill

Namizaki if he intends to kill himself anyway. A few months later, Naojirô's attempt to kill Namizaki ends up leaving a scar on Namizaki's cheek. Naojirô flees and the narrator does not tell where he has gone and Oran, Sasuke, and Osoyo also disappear. The closing sentence is: "It's a wild world after all. These days the trains run everywhere" [世間は広し、汽車は国中に通ずる頃なれば。] (1: 251; Danly 204).

The suicide of Oran's father because of his failure in speculation has provoked people's curiosity and they see the desolate house as mysterious and grotesque. This gothic taste is symbolised in the description of the garden, especially the bottomless pond.

Scandal, rather, would long remain attached to the house, the garden, the old pond. Best not say any more – it was horrid, people thought. And yet on rainy nights talk would often turn to the details of Matsukawa and his house.

Everyone agreed: somehow or other it was an eerie place. [(...) 醜名ながく止まる奥庭の古池に、あとは言ふまじ恐ろしやと雨夜の雑談に枝の添ひて、松川さまのお邸といへば何となく怕き処のやうに人思ひぬ。] (217; Danly 182)

When Naojirô is hit by the carriage, it is a dark night described as follows:

No moon graced the evening sky. Only a moment before it had been dusk, but already the night was black. The wind whistled fiercely through the big oak behind the house. It was like a woodland there, dense and overgrown. Almost without noticing it, [Oran] heard the sound of waves rising on the pond in back. Who could guess how deep its waters were? The noise seemed near enough to touch. [(...) 月なき頃は暮れてほどなけれども闇の色ふかく、こんもりと茂りて森の如くなる屋後の檜の大樹に、音づる風の音もの凄く聞えて、そのうらてなる底しれずの池に寄る波の音さへ手に取るばかりなるを、聞くともなく聞かぬともなく (...)] (218; Danly 183)

Naojirô enters the Matsukawa mansion. As he regains his health and often works as a gardener, he is captivated by the mysterious garden where the landscape is desolate and lonely.

He often worked in the gardens, which, as one might expect of such extensive grounds, were badly in need of repair. Trees and bushes had grown tangled. These were many broken branches. Weeds were everywhere. Ferns and wildflowers grew rank among the grasses. Gradually Naojirô worked his way round to the back garden, uprooting the weeds as he went. There a huge, gnarled pine dominated the scene. It would take several men just to reach around its trunk, he imagined. The lower branches grazed the surface of the old pond, which gave the tree the appearance of a great snake peering into water. It was impossible for him to tell how deep the pond might be.

Once there had been a summer house, but it was gone now. On the hill a few remains still stood. No autumn breezes blew. The setting sun shimmered in the dusk. The sight summoned strange feelings in the boy's heart. It was not a place to be alone. As far as the eye could see, the view was awesome. Even without such a distressing scene, Naojirô was inclined toward the melancholy. He was always lonely, and felt ever more detached from the world. [さしも広がる邸内に手入れの届かねば木はいや茂りに茂りて、折しもあれ、夏草処得がほにひろがれば、忘れ草しのぶ草それ等は論なし、刈るも物うき雑草のしげみをたどりて裏手にめぐれば、幾抱への松が枝、大蛇の水にのぞめる如くうねりて、下枝はぬるる古池の深さ幾なくぞ。昔しは東屋のたてりし処とて、小高き所の今も余波は見ゆめれど、まやの余りも浅ましくあれて、秋風ふかねど入日かげろふたぐれなどは、独りたつまじき怪の心さへ呼おこすべく、見渡す限り物すさまじき宿に、さらでも沈みがちの直次郎、明けぬれど暮れぬれど、淋しき思ひは満身をおそひて、弥々浮世に遠ざかるやうなり。] (229; Danly 191)

However, it is significant that the garden is described more pleasantly when Oran is in the garden with Naojirô to pick flowers for her father's grave:

[...] she was in good humor. Gathering a handful of lilies and baby's breath and a spray of other flowers, she seemed to enjoy strolling in her own garden,

as if it were all new to her. [(...) お蘭さまも機嫌よげにて、小百合撫子あれこれの花は剪りて後も、我が庭ながら物めづらしげに見あるき給ふ嬉しさ。] (231; Danly 192)

Naojirô's presence has changed the landscape of the garden from Oran's perspective: since he does not belong to the cursed family of Matsukawa, being beside him may detach her from this negative sense. She might even become aware of him as the opposite sex as she notices his height: in addition, her face flushes when he says that she looks younger (234-35). Nevertheless, he involves himself in the web of curse rather than rescuing her from the curse.

Maeda Ai points out that the pond is "the centre where the all of the grotesque landscapes are condensed. The funnel of this 'bottomless pond' is the place where the eerie atmosphere of death hanging over the Matsukawa mansion is epitomised" [グロテスクな風景のすべてが収斂する中心なのである。松川屋敷に立ちこめる無気味な死の雰囲気、ひときわ濃縮されて淀んでいる所が、この「底知れずの池」の漏斗なのである。] (qtd in Kitada 81). Adding to Maeda's analysis, Kitada argues that the pond is the entrance of an afterworld and that Oran is a transcendent figure who can go there and back (81). However, I consider that this pond and the desolate garden are the complex symbols that have a great significance to influence Oran and her life.

The pond is not only the symbol of death but also the symbol of the complex feelings of Oran, her father and Naojirô. The pond is where her father drowned and she believes that Namizaki and his greed for success caused her father's suicide; therefore, Oran and her father's curse against Namizaki are concentrated in the grotesqueness of the pond. Moreover, when Namizaki's letter angers her, and Naojirô begs her to dismiss him, she suggests revenge on Namizaki to Naojirô and asserts that this is her father's will.

The resentment I have against him is with me day and night. I'd like to kill him with these two hands of mine. But I can't. Put yourself in my position.

Unfortunately, I have to take care of things for my father. God knows, it's not

from any desire on my part. There are instructions in his will to be carried out, you see. [いかにもしての恨みは日夜に絶へねど、我が手を下していざとあらんは、察し給へ、まだ後の入用のある身の上つらく、慾とはおぼすな、父が遺志の継ぎたさになり。] (248; Danly 202-03)

In fact, Naojirô indicates that he wants to drown in the pond where Oran's father died because "it was the only quiet place, away from the world" [この底のみは浮世の外の静けさならん] (245; Danly 201). The pond thus becomes the symbol of these two men's desire for death. But Oran replaces Naojirô's love for her and his desire for death with the curse against Namizaki and her desire for the revenge on him as Naojirô also has spite against Namizaki because of the accident and jealousy. The pond, originating from Oran's father's curse against Namizaki and his death, links these three people with the entangled feelings of love, hate and death.

Oran and her life are trapped by her "father's will." As Arai Tomiyo argues: "Her father's malice increases in the confined garden and affects her all the more" [父の怨念が庭という閉ざされた場所でいやが上にも増幅して娘のお蘭に作用する。] (57). Oran is also incarcerated in the garden, her father's malice. Her incarceration is signified by the description of how the old servants, Sasuke and Osoyo, treat her:

Loyalty is of course commendable, but what they felt toward Oran was more like awe. She was a single, splendid flower they wanted to protect from losing its petals or from being plucked and taken from the garden. [(...) 忠義は然る事ながら、唯おそれて惶みて、此処に盛りの名花一木、ちらさじ折らさじと注縛引はへて、垣の外より護るが如く (...)] (230; Danly 191)

Since the old couple serves the Matsukawa through several generations, their continuous loyalty to the Matsukawa family is parallel to Oran's bond to her father. That is why they grow to be upset when Naojirô becomes too close to Oran: they may fear that she will be "taken from the garden" by him.

The idealisation of Oran, by Sasuke and Osoyo, as the flower in the garden is

therefore symbolic: they do not want her to go outside the garden wall, in other words, they try to confine her to the family tradition. Because they think Oran is still in love with Namizaki, Sasuke waits expectantly for Namizaki's visit and Osoyo encourages her to go and see him at the pied-à-terre; however, they would support Oran's revenge on Namizaki when they know it is her father's "will."

In this way, the garden for Oran is a confinement in which she is bound to her father. Although she does not clarify her desire for death unlike her father and Naojirô, she becomes preoccupied with the curse against Namizaki and the revenge on him, which, she believes, springs from her father's will. Takitô Mitsuyoshi argues that Oran, like Oriki in *Nigorie* [Troubled Waters], cannot accomplish her father's ambition because she is a woman; therefore, she longs for the afterworld (119). However, the narrator of *Yamiyo* does not indicate Oran's intention to die; rather, the last sentence tells us that she, Sasuke and Osoyo may be alive. Kitada speculates that Oran and her servants may continue to curse Namizaki, trying to find an opportunity to kill him (99): i.e., Oran may not be free from her father's will even though she goes outside the garden wall of the Matsukawa mansion.

*Warekara* [Destructive Fate] contains two stories, one of Mio and the other of her deserted daughter, Machi. The story begins with the description of Machi's married life: she, twenty-six years old, has material wealth but is treated as a doll-wife by her ten-years-older husband, Kyôsuke. The narrator shifts the story to Machi's mother, Mio, her happy married life with Yoshirô albeit poverty-stricken, and then exposes why and how she abandoned him and newborn baby, Machi. Mio leaves them behind for a financially better life, in other words, she chooses to be the concubine of a rich soldier rather than remaining a poor man's wife, although she is deeply loved by her husband. Outraged by the wife's betrayal, the husband changes into a fiend and makes a fortune by becoming a ruthless loan shark with the money she leaves when running away from home.

Unlike her mother, Machi is brought up in wealth and marries a politician, Kyôsuke,

who is backed by her father's money. This marriage was negotiated by her father who died soon after. Although her husband is seemingly nice, Machi has been feeling lonely because his career keeps him busy.

Kyôsukey's birthday party is held on 18 November to which a number of people and selected geisha are invited. Machi becomes tired of looking after the guests and pouring sake for them and goes to the garden. Then the narrator begins to tell the vicissitude of the house.

When Machi was twelve, her father bought this house that had been foreclosed. Although some repairs had been done, water conduits, miniature mountains, and the sound of the cold winter winds through the pines hadn't been changed since. [此家は町子が十二の歳、父の与四郎抵当ながれに取りて、それより修繕は加へたれども、水の流れ、山のたたずまい、松の木がらし小高き声も唯その昔のままなりけり。] (2: 237)

After some time of pondering in solitude and under the moonlight, Machi becomes scared of being alone in the darkness and then decides to go back. But she stops when she hears Kyôsukey's singing with a samisen (three stringed Japanese banjo) tune played by a geisha. Hearing the song, she thinks: "She can't endure to feel forlorn and pain as if to constrict her came up in her heart" [(...) 心細き事堪えがたうなりて、締つけられるやうな苦るしさは、胸の中の何処ともなく湧き出ぬ。] (237).

On the night of the party, Machi tries to tell Kyôsukey that she has been feeling strange but he says that it is only because she is tired. She answers "no," [否、]

Though I can't express what it is exactly, I feel lonely. Because I was annoyed by the noisy people, I escaped to the garden and tried to sober up at the Inari shrine. I thought of strange, strange, and even crazy things, please don't laugh, I grew to feel lonely but I can't explain why. Perhaps, you will laugh at me and scold me. [それでも私は言ふに言はれぬ淋しい心地がするのでござります。余り先刻みな様のお強い遊ばすが五月蠅さに、一人庭へと逃げまして、



お稲荷さまのお社の所で酔ひを覚ましてをりましたに、私は変な変な、をかしいことを思ひよりまして、笑つて下さりますな、どうも何とも言はれぬ気持ちになりました。貴郎に笑はれて、叱かられる様な事でござりましょ] (238-39)

Then she cries. She tries to confess to Kyôsuke that she has been feeling forlorn: "Because I am afraid you will desert me, I feel so sad" [私は貴君に捨てられはせぬかと存じまして、それでこの様に淋しう思ひまする] (239), at which he laughs and says: "Such a thing isn't going to happen" [その様なつまらぬ事のある筈はない。] (239). She goes on explaining what and how she has been feeling:

I am not saying this because of jealousy. At today's lively party, there are various guests who are distinguished in the world. I am very glad that they are your friends. I should be thankful for that in my heart. Unlike myself, you will continue to make a success in life, have a large circle of acquaintances and become more distinguished. [ . . . ] I can't stop you having experiences working in the vast world. On the other hand, I live in the limited home without knowing troubles from the morning till the evening; I just idle my time away. Imagining that you will get tired of me some day, I already feel so sad. I don't have any reliable parents or brothers except you. My father, Yoshirô, was irritated with me and didn't let me get close to him when he was alive, as you know, because I look like mother. I was always living in sadness. But I am happy that I married you, and I should appreciate that you are gracious enough to forgive my selfishness and that I have nothing to worry about these days. But I am anxious something will happen. I felt sad to think like that tonight. I felt so hopeless that I even couldn't stay calm. I knew I shouldn't tell you that but I couldn't stop myself. I may be worrying for nothing but what should I do to cope with these feelings? I just feel forlorn. [それでも私はそのやうな悵気沙汰で申すのではござりませぬ。今日の会席の賑かに、種々の方々御出の中に誰れとて世間に名の聞えぬもなく、このやうのお

人達、みな貴郎さまの御友達かと思ひますれば、嬉しさ胸の中におさへがたく、陰ながら拝んでいてもよいほどの辱さなれど、つくづく我が身の上を思ひまするに、貴郎はこれより弥ますますの御出世を遊して、世の中広うなれば次第に御器量まし給ふ。(…) 限りも知れず広き世に立ちては、耳さへ目さへ肥え給ふ道理、有限だけの家の内に朝夕物おもひの苦も知らで、唯ぼんやりと過しまする身の、遂ひには倦かれまするやうになりて、悲しかるべき事今おもふても愁らし。私は貴郎のほか頼母しき親兄弟もなし。ありてから父の与四郎在世のさまは知り給ふ如く、私をば母親似の面ざし見るに、癩の種とて寄せつけも致されず、朝夕さびしうて暮しましたるを、嬉しき縁にて今かく私が我ままをも免し給ひ、思ふ事なき今日この頃、それは勿体ないほどの有難さも、万一身にそぐはぬ事ならばと案じられまして、この事をおもふに今宵の淋しき事、居ても起ちてもあらぬほどの情なさより、言ふてはならぬと存じましたれど、遂ひこの様に申上てしまひました。それは孰れも取止めのなき取こし苦勞でござりませうけれど、どうしてもこの様な気のするを、何としたらようござりますか。唯々心ぼそうござります](239-40)

In this long confession of her deep feelings, Machi tries to be honest and sincere but Kyôsuken does not take her seriously: he disposes of her anxiety with mere “jealousy.”

When Kyôsuken suggests adopting a fine-looking eleven-year-old boy, Machi already knows from the rumour among servants that the boy is his son by a concubine, whom he has kept for more than ten years. She also overhears a servant’s saying: “It can’t be helped. Because this is the property that the former master foreclosed, she can’t complain if it will become someone else’s” [仕方がない、十分先の旦那がしぼり取った身上だから、人の物になると言っても理屈はあるまい。] (247). Therefore, she tells her husband, answering his suggestion to adopt the boy: “If you think it is good, please decide. Since this house is yours, you can do whatever you will” [よいと覚しめさば、お取極め下さりませ。此家は貴郎のお家でごさりまする物、何となり思しめしのままに] (248-49). Here, she clearly says that the house is legally her husband’s and that he is the heir; therefore, she does not have a right for final decisions.

However, it is important, ironically, that Kyôsukey is not characterised as a merciless fiend. He feels guilty towards Machi. It seems that Kyôsukey learns the rumour of her affair with the houseboy around the New Year but he hesitates to announce the separation until the beginning of April. During that time he is in a dilemma: he worries about the public eye but, also, reproaches his own vice and worries about what will become of the deserted Machi. Nevertheless, he buys a house in a secluded area for Machi to live after separation and finally tells her on one rainy night that she should not live in the same house with him anymore. His manner is stern and he does not listen to her crying. This is the very end of the story:

“Are you really doing this to me? Are you abandoning me in this world? For I am alone without family, there is no one to help me in this world. It must be so easy for you to desert such a useless person like me. Are you then trying to make this house your own possession? Go ahead, leave me, my prayers will punish you.” She glares at him but he pushes her away without looking at her and says, “Machi, I will never see you again.” [「お前様どうでも左様なさるので御座んするか。私を浮世の捨て物になさりますのお気か。私は一人もの、世には助くる人も無し。此小さき身すて給ふに仔細はあるまじ。見事すてて此家を君の物にし給ふお気か。取りて見給へ、我をば捨てて御覧ぜよ、一念が御座りまする」とて、はたと白睨むを、突のけてあとをも見ず、  
「町、もう逢はぬぞ。」 ] (252-53)

Perhaps, Kyôsukey tries to make himself look merciless to make this decision absolute; that is why he cannot even look at her. However, he stands by the power of the masculine system after all. He may take in his concubine and their son and form a new family in the house after Machi is gone. In fact, the characterisation of Kyôsukey makes the consequence even more realistic and tragic: any man, compassionate superficially, has potential to wreck a woman's life. He has a sense of responsibility towards the boy but not towards Machi. In other words, men cannot realise the injustice of the system to women

and sympathise with women because the system is fundamentally advantageous to themselves.

Machi is legally a helpless wife whose husband had to take over the inheritance from her. According to the then law, Takada writes, Machi's husband inherits her father's enormous fortune and the property (137). Her father married her to Kyôsukey when she was only fourteen or fifteen, very early marriage even for women at that time (137). Moreover, Takada speculates that Yoshirô might have tried to prevent Machi's inheritance because Machi is the daughter of his unfaithful wife and, probably, her lover, not his (138).<sup>15</sup> Yamada Yûsaku examines more extensively Yoshirô's influence upon Machi: he considers that *Warekara* is the story about Yoshirô's revenge (313). He argues that Yoshirô's neglect of Machi and her education had left her growing up among servants so that she lacked conventional morals and ethics. Yamada further speculates that selecting the older and ambitious Kyôsukey for his daughter, Yoshirô might have expected that Kyôsukey would desert Machi (312-13).

The garden scene seems a critical point when Machi's "forlorn feelings" become more discernible to herself. And Ichiyô also suggests in her diaries that the garden scene is the meaningful moment for Machi. Saitô Ryokuu, a famous writer and critic whom Ichiyô trusted as a friend, asked her on 29 May 1896, if the garden scene was coincidental and Machi had considered her mother's life and her own before. Ichiyô's answer is, "this is utterly a coincidence" [誠にこれは偶然の出来事なり] (3: 306 *Mizu no ue nikki* [みづの上日記]). But she adds that "however, Machi must have something secret in her mind which she herself does not know and always feels sad and forlorn. And then this incident in the garden happens coincidentally" [しかれども、常々おのれも知らぬ心のそこに、怪しうひそむ物のありて、心細き感は常々有しに相違なかるべく、さて此事は偶然におこりたるなるべし] (306). Moreover, Baba Kochô reminisces about his visit to Ichiyô and her mention of *Warekara* then: when Kochô told her that his friend gave a good account of the garden scene, she said "That part is the important one" [彼所が肝心なところです。] (qtd in Iwami et al. 372).

Some feminist critics have tried to interpret this garden scene. Arai Tomiyo points out that the garden affects Machi's psychological movement. Arai discovers many descriptions of the garden in drafts of *Warekara* (65), confirming the significance of the garden in the story. Comparing *Yamiyo*, Arai writes that the garden for Machi is not as straightforward as that in *Yamiyo*, though my discussion has shown that the garden in *Yamiyo* is not simple. She does not explore this connection between *Yamiyo* and *Warekara* as her analysis focuses on Machi's "irritation." Seki Reiko considers the Inari shrine, the place of Machi's pondering, as significant. Seki argues that the Inari shrine is "the symbol of her father's wealth" [利殖による父の富の象徴] and that Machi lives "not only with the burden of being the daughter of the loan shark but also as the wife of the man who rose to the status of a politician by this father's wealth" [高利貸しの男の娘であるという負荷と、その富を背景に政治家に成り上がった男の妻] ("Imagination" 64). The garden scene brings this reality into light to Machi and the reader. Yabu Teiko, in her epoch-making criticism of *Warekara* from a feminist standpoint, considers the garden scene, expressing "Machi's sense of loneliness" [お町の孤独感], as "the core part" [核たるべき部分] (*Tôkoku* 317).

I would like to add to their discussions that Machi, observing the house at a distance from the garden, sees a different face of her husband, also which belongs to the outside world, and her fear that he may desert her gains more reality. She perceives her husband as a man, not a protector, who can take advantage of the system.

It is significant that the party is held in the house which used to be Yoshirô's property and now is his own by marrying Machi. Kyôsuke invites his friends and acquaintances, personal or connected through his career, and displays the song that Machi has never heard. He shows her that he has a big world outside the home, which she does not know, and that he can bring that world home. Thus he can occupy the house completely where there is no space left for her. That the narrator explains the history of the house when she is in the garden foreshadows the consequence: her father once foreclosed the house from someone poor, and now, her husband would deprive her of the house.

Machi's powerlessness is due to her relation to the head, her husband. Considering the reality of female heirs in Meiji, Takada Chinami suggests the distinction between Ichiyô and Machi, in terms of the status of heir: Ichiyô is "the woman who became the head though there were male family members" [男の同胞がいたのに戸主になった女] and Machi is "the woman who did not become the head though there were no male family members" [男の同胞がいなかったのに戸主にならなかった女] (137). Their distinction in the position of power within the family is reflected in their responses to the garden: the place of relief for Ichiyô whereas it is the place of uneasiness for Machi.

The garden's outside location has enabled Machi to observe the home in which the masculine "ie" system is constructed to ostracise her from the property. However, the garden is also a part of this property which does not belong to her: it was merely passed from her father to her husband. Machi goes to the garden to escape from the party inside but she ends up feeling more uneasy and insecure as if she realised this reality. The garden is the complex revelation that Machi's life has been tossed about by men and their rules.

There is a significant link between *Yamiyo* and *Warekara*. Both Oran and Machi are entangled with their fathers' snares: Oran with the curse and revenge and Machi with the property law. Their misfortune is originally created by their fathers. Significantly, investigating representations of the garden has led me to this discovery. For Oran, the savage garden, where the grotesque pond lies, is the place of her confinement in which she is never free from her father. In *Warekara*, the garden is the place in which Machi recognises her husband as the possible usurper and a part of the property that legally excludes her. Moreover, Oran and Machi are defeated in the end: Oran's revenge, manipulating Naojirô, fails and the scar ironically makes Namizaki heroic among the public and Machi is expelled legally from the house. Powerful men win and women are ruined.

Kitada points out that, in *Yamiyo*, the descriptions of Namizaki are always indirect and that Namizaki is the representation of powerful men in general, especially men in the

political world, against whom Ichiyô protests (92). Curiously, both Namizaki and Kyôsukey are politicians. Komori Yôichi writes, in his discussion of Ichiyô's later work, *Konoko* [This Child] (1896), that the occupation of the heroine's husband, judge, is significant. Komori argues that the public existence of this husband as judge should not be separated from the fact that the Meiji government encouraged the confinement of women in the home (281). I, too, would not consider the fact that the male politicians ill-treat Oran and Machi as coincidental: these men are the emblem of the government system itself that takes advantage of masculine rules and disregards women.

Thus, *Yamiyo* and *Warekara* share common themes. Yabu pointed out in 1986 that *Yamiyo* manifests most clearly Ichiyô's recognition of the unfairness to women and their powerlessness in society. She writes: "*Yamiyo* is the work which tried to inscribe the thick darkness of Meiji society which could never be struck through" [「やみ夜」は、突き破ろうとしても突き破れぬ明治の世の厚い闇をとにかくも刻もうとした作品であった。] ("Coming Generations" 151). Kitada writes at the end of her essay that *Yamiyo* is the first work in which Ichiyô presented "the tension between a woman's inner life and the system" [女の内面と制度の緊張], which is dealt with more realistically in her later works, such as *Uramurasaki* [Reverse Purple] and *Warekara* (100). I suggest, in regard to their argument, that the link between *Yamiyo* and *Warekara* reveals that Ichiyô's protest against masculine rules is one of the significant thematics in her writing.

Consideration of this thematic connection between *Yamiyo* and *Warekara* and reading *Utsusemi* and Ichiyô's diaries as intertexts with these works, it is evident that the garden is a negative place for women. When the garden provides with Ichiyô anything positive, she is a masculine figure, the family head who has to lead her family. On the other hand, the garden is clearly part of the locus of the confinement for the mad Yukiko. Yukiko, Oran and Machi are women who are to be protected or controlled by men and the garden for them is imprisonment in a section of the "ie" rather than the space of relief.

However, paradoxically, the garden is also a space where the women characters

gain some kind of power and sometimes try to overturn men and their control. Possession of the garden evidently gave power or a sense of sisterhood to the Higuchi women for their survival in the patriarchal Meiji. The garden is also important for Ichiyô as a professional writer: it is where she nurtured her poetical sense.

Significantly, there emerges another link between *Utsusemi* and *Yamiyo* in this context. Yukiko, lacking the rationality established in the discourse of patriarchy, does not see the house as confinement but as “a wide field.” Refusing to surrender to Masao’s rational persuasion, Yukiko gains her own vision of self-understanding and of her environment in her madness. Oran, cultivating her curse against Namizaki in the garden, resists him by planning revenge. Besides, Naojirô’s perception of Oran contrasts with Sasuke’s and Osoyo’s as “a single, splendid flower:”

The autumn grasses ran wild in her yard. Her garden resembled an open field.

She was a wild flower<sup>16</sup> damaged by the storm, with a pitiful enough future

herself. [( . . . ) 籬は荒れて庭は野らなる秋草の茂みに、嵐をいたむ女郎花にも似たる

お蘭様が上、いとしと思ひぬ。 ] (1: 239; Danly 197)

From Naojirô’s perspective, Oran is a lonely “wild” flower in the “open field;” this suggests Oran’s independence after she is liberated from her love for Namizaki. Yukiko and Oran are at one level imprisoned but another level free and possess their own vision of their lives.

Machi is also the woman who holds the power of her own language to express herself. Awakening to reality in the garden where she recognises her forlorn feelings more clearly, her confession to her husband is sincere and powerful; on the other hand, her husband’s insensitiveness and thoughtlessness become apparent. Finally, Machi is able to accuse her husband articulately. Though the endings are not optimistic for any of the heroines, we should not ignore the “resistance” they attempt.

I consider that Ichiyô’s metaphorical use of the garden in her fiction is derived from her struggles as the family head in a male-privileged society. Her metaphorical gardens are



subtle and complex expressions of those significant themes in her works.

## **Conclusion**

The garden representations in the texts of Franklin and Ichiyô are thus unique to their own cultures and contemporary conditions. In Franklin's case, the garden, together with the beautiful landscape and flowers and the fruitful orchard, is a metaphor for women's power, originating from the tradition of Australian women's writing. On the other hand, in Ichiyô's texts, the garden is a metaphorical space in which women's powerlessness against men and their rules, namely the "ie" system, becomes manifest. The garden as a metaphor, thus, has the distinct significance in their own texts and contexts.

Yet what is common is that the garden is a space in which the women characters release their emotions about their lives, environments, societies and men. For Sybylla and Franklin, the garden is one of the means to express their happiness or unhappiness of life: it becomes an important device for their effective and powerful language. Especially for Sybylla, the garden is the place where she is beautiful and most sexually attractive. On the other hand, Ichiyô's heroines, Oran and Machi, express their anxiety in the garden and they, as well as Yukiko, attempt to hold visions of themselves and their future, although not successful. Whether power or powerlessness, the garden symbolises women's understanding of themselves.

Moreover, investigating the garden representations has led me to contradict the conventional readings of their texts and placed them within the feminist readings. Emancipated from the realist-centred criticism, Franklin and Sybylla are linked with other Australian women in terms of their female power. The garden in Ichiyô's texts symbolises the women characters' struggles and protests against men; this theme tangles these fictional texts together, also linking with her personal experience, regardless of their

conventional categorisation and belittling assessments. This chapter has shown that the garden as a metaphor is a key to finding these suppressed links and forming them into significant subject matters and traditions.

## Conclusion

As Sharon Janusz has argued in her article, “Feminism and Metaphor: Friend, Foe, Force?” (1994), metaphor can subvert a patriarchal system. Metaphor has liberated the texts of Franklin and Ichiyô from patriarchal systems, namely, the bush myth and the “ie” system. These ideologies influenced their lives and writings: while Franklin is one of the supporters of the bush myth, Ichiyô, as the heir of the Higuchi household, bound herself to the Higuchi’s “ie.” However, my reading of their texts focusing on metaphor has shown that they do not always conform to these ideologies in their writings; rather, their rejection of the patriarchal order of dominant discourse and their attempts to create female values are discovered.

In Franklin’s case, her feminism and expression of female power, according to her metaphorical birds and gardens, do not comply with the ideology of the male-dominated bush. Her love for birds originates from her celebration of Australian nature: this nature does not belong to the mystified and idealised bush but relates to Franklin’s personal and nostalgic experiences and her feminism. Therefore, her bird imagery, specifically as a metaphor for women, symbolises her identity and sense of pride as an Australian and feminist writer, making her unconventional and individual. Her feminist appeal in her images of birds, such as refusal of conventional marriage and desire to have a profession, is particularly persuasive in the course of her writing career.

The garden in Franklin’s texts is a metaphor for the women characters’ femininity, an emblem of nurturing and sensuality. In *MBC*, the garden is one of the momentous places where Sybylla perceives her “potential” for sensual and individual development and she is empowered by her relationship to landscape. The garden is also one of the ways through which Franklin is included in Australian women’s traditions. The feminised landscape and garden create a sense of sisterhood among the nineteenth-century Australian women writers and women colonists, inspiring Sybylla and Franklin in their strength as

women. Thus, Franklin has established her own version of the bush tradition which allows plural female voices thereby challenging the male-exclusive bush that would admit neither feminist interpretation nor the feminine quality itself.

Ichiyô's birds and gardens express her denial of the male-exclusive "ie" system. Although Otaka in *Wakarejimo* [Parting in the Frost] finally chooses the "cage" of her ideal marriage by death, she, at least, rejects her father's "ie." Her sexual relationship with Yoshinosuke and her desire for the spiritual union with him has liberated her from the "ie." On the other hand, Ichiyô herself refuses proudly to be "caged." Her bird imagery in the diaries alludes to her vulnerable femininity and sexuality but, eventually, she rejects her sexuality being caged in the convention of concubinage. The social and cultural context of bird imagery confines women's sexuality to men's desire and discourse; however, bird/s as a metaphor for women and their sexuality in Ichiyô's texts, does not render Otaka and Ichiyô the victims of the conventional masculine power.

The garden is the place where Ichiyô's heroines, Yukiko, Oran and Machi, are made powerless due to their relations to the men characters. The destructive endings do not signify their defeat entirely, however. In the garden, they acquire their own ways of expression for their self-understanding. Ichiyô's observation of her garden represents her dependence on her father's wealth and power but, at the same time, having a garden is related to the emotional needs of the Higuchi women. Her actual and fictional gardens are the mirror of women's coming to grasp their lives and themselves. Thus, Ichiyô's birds and gardens as metaphors symbolise women's struggles against men, the "ie," and Meiji society: their attempts to find female reflections.

Investigating metaphor in Franklin's and Ichiyô's texts has revealed the common significance of rejecting the masculine ideologies and seeking female values. In fact, protest against the dominant masculine ideologies, systems and the injustice caused by them is the other side of seeking for female voices outside this masculinity. They exploit metaphoric language to overturn the constricting social structure and discourse and then

offer new, female voices in which women are able to pursue their individual lives and emotions.

As Watanabe Sumiko claims, Franklin and Ichiyô attain “self-expression and self-awareness” (17) as female beings according to their own experiences and their writings express these processes. These processes are surely different: there are innumerable distinctions in their lives such as the fact that Franklin experienced the two world wars and had international career as writer whilst Ichiyô died before the twentieth-century and always lived in Tokyo. However, their writings and my investigation of metaphor demonstrate that being a woman is one significant commonality between these two women writers, which leads us to other common aspects in their processes.

Kay Ferres claims that “(m)odernity offered women new identifications and definitions” (“Introduction” 16). There is a similarity between modernity in the Australian context and modernity in the Japanese context. Just as Australia’s “modernity” gave Franklin “new identifications and definitions,” so Japan’s “modernity” gave Ichiyô “new identifications and definitions.” Both the bush myth and the “ie” system are the product in the vortex of the countries’ modernising process. Despite the dominant masculinist construction of these products, Franklin and Ichiyô make a space through their own voices for “new identifications and definitions.” Their expression of new identifications and definitions may be subtle or complex, as exemplified in their metaphoric language, but this subtlety and complexity nevertheless prevents the expression from the standardised masculine voices.

Given these “positive” aspects in my findings of Franklin’s and Ichiyô’s use of metaphor, I would like to recall Sybylla’s and Ichiyô’s recognition as women, which I referred to in the Introduction. Sybylla writes: “My ineffective life will be trod out in the same round of toil, – I am only one of yourselves, I am only an unnecessary, little, bush commoner, I am only a – woman!” (*MBC* 232). Ichiyô writes: “I am a woman. Even

though I have a resolution, I wonder if there is something I can do in this world” [我れは女なり。いかにおもへることありとも、そは世に行ふべき事か、あらぬか。] (3: 302 *Mizu no ue* [みづの上] 20 Feb. 1896). Although there are their own contexts and situations to consider, it is significant that the passages appear near the end of their narratives, Sybylla’s in *MBC* and Ichiyô’s in the diaries, her life. This recognition leads them to consider their lives as women, expressing not only their sense of helplessness but also their grasp of the female existence. Asserting that “I am a woman” or “I am only a – woman!,” they attempt to break the wall of limitation, rather than coming to terms with the limitation. Just as Sybylla’s narrative continued in *MCGB* by Franklin who herself pursued her career as a writer and activist, so Ichiyô was ready to challenge the dilemmas that she encountered as a woman and woman writer, though her ill health forestalled her efforts.

Comparing Australian and Japanese women’s writing is not a smooth task not only because of apparent differences between the two countries and individuals but also because of the diversity of criticism in each country. The traditions and conventions of literary criticism in Australia and Japan are certainly different. While traditional Ichiyô critics may hesitate to apply “Western” theories and ideas to interpret her texts, Franklin critics continue to offer new readings of her texts. Of course, there is one significant factor to consider: Franklin is already a part of the “Western” tradition whereas Ichiyô is not. However, it is important to realise that “Western” theories such as “intertextuality” have broadened the scope for linking Ichiyô’s personal experience, her writings and Meiji society. In this regard, I wish to identify this thesis with the efforts of Japanese feminist critics who adopt “Western” ideas persuasively regardless of the dismissal of them as “jargon” by the traditional – and often male – critics. Moreover, despite the difference between Australia and Japan as “Western” and “non-Western,” I have pointed to a similar aspect in their historical and cultural contexts: the Australian bush myth and the Japanese “ie” system have been redefined as the invented national identity or cultural ideal by historians and feminist critics. Understanding this similarity as Franklin’s and Ichiyô’s

“common” cultural backgrounds, my concern in this thesis has been to link their writings through my feminist analysis, supported by both Australian and Japanese feminist critics, to modern women’s literature. Their approaches are common in their attempt to liberate it from the dominant masculine canon and redefine it. Removing the wall of demarcations by my feminist comparative approach, therefore, my reading of Franklin’s and Ichiyô’s texts has not only offered new or different insights by focusing on metaphor but also made their shared projects and thematics visible and accessible.

Dismantling the various notions of “difference,” the discovery of the thematic commonalities in Franklin’s and Ichiyô’s writings is able, I believe, to intensify the international tradition of women’s literature and also provide a positive contribution to comparative literary studies, in particular, between Australia and Japan.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *MBC* was often compared with *Story of an African Farm* and *Jane Eyre* by Franklin's first reviewers (Webby vi).

<sup>2</sup> For the impact of *A Doll's House* on Australia and Japan, see Deborah Campbell and Satô.

<sup>3</sup> "Sounds of Geese" (3: 260) is a part of a collection titled "Akiawase" that was published in a literary journal, *Urawakasô*, collectively in May 1896. "Little Cuckoos" (3: 263-65) was published as a part of "Suzurogoto" in *The Literary Club* in July 1896 but this collection ended up containing only "Little Cuckoos" because of Ichiyô's illness and subsequent death.

<sup>4</sup> These essays were written in the last house Ichiyô lived after she moved out from the house in Shitaya near the pleasure quarter where she ran the shop.

<sup>5</sup> Birds are also used as metaphors for men: for instance, Ichiyô identified Tôsui, her mentor, with a "crane" [鶴] in comparison with "chickens" [庭鳥] (3: 127 *Michishiba no tsuyu* [道しばのつゆ] 11 Nov. 1895). In *Hanagomori* [Clouds in Springtime], the ambitious and greedy mother, Ochika, encourages her son, as "a great bird" [大鵬], to accept marriage to a daughter of a wealthy family, defying the gossips of "a flock of sparrows" [群雀] (1: 200). In *Yukukumo* [Passing Clouds] (1895), the free and irresponsible student life of the male protagonist is described as follows: "the situation of a student is free like a flying bird" [雲井の鳥の羽がひ自由なる書生の境界] (2: 71).

<sup>6</sup> However, Kusaka was actually thirty-one years old at the time (Maeda and Noguchi 3: 234).

<sup>7</sup> The date is not clarified. This record is not included in Maeda's and Noguchi's *Complete Works of Higuchi Ichiyô* (1996), to which I refer in this thesis, since their edition of the diaries excludes her miscellaneous writing. See Takahashi Kazuhiko 343-34.

<sup>8</sup> Crows are often used, though not always, as the symbol of loneliness, for example in *Wakarejimo* (1: 33, 52) and *Yamiyo* [Encounters on a Dark Night] (1: 240).

<sup>9</sup> A thousand yen was a considerable sum of money in those days: Ichiyô's family lived on approximately ten yen a month.



<sup>10</sup> A woman writer, Tazawa Inafune (1874-96), married her mentor, Yamada Bimyô, who was a popular writer, but they divorced a few months after. Ichiyô wrote in her drafts of poems in the late 1895 or early 1896 when the gossip of Inafune and Bimyô was notorious: “Inafune, Inafune, I’m envious of you, very, Tazawa, Tazawa, Tazawa, Inafune, Inafune” [いな舟 稲舟 かのぬし羨れ候 とても 田沢 田沢 田沢 稲舟 稲舟] (Shioda 179). It is obvious that Ichiyô was envious of Inafune’s marriage to her mentor.

<sup>11</sup> I would like to mention one image of the bird, referring to men, although Franklin’s bird imagery is mostly metaphors for women. One appears in *MCGB* and the use is idiomatic and colloquial, probably peculiar to Australia at that time. Mr Hardy visits Sybylla at the house of Mrs Crasterton in Sydney who is hospitable to her because of her fame. Edmeé, a rich, beautiful girl from the bush also staying at Mrs Crasterton’s, admonishes Sybylla, who says, “[h]e might fall in love with me” (163) that he is flirtatious. Edmeé identifies Mr Hardy with a bird: “That bird is not to be caught with chicken feed” (163). Thus, though not as notable and emphatic as other bird images for women, this bird image suggests that Mr Hardy, a mature and experienced lover, will not be seduced by a young and inexperienced girl like Sybylla. Edmeé warns Sybylla but is also sarcastically informing Sybylla that she is not entitled to be his lover.

<sup>12</sup> For further discussion of women’s role in rural districts around the end of the nineteenth century, see Lake “Helpmeet, Slave, Housewife.”

<sup>13</sup> English flowers seem to dominate “the imported riches” among others that are from Italy and Holland, for example (59-63).

<sup>14</sup> In the diaries, the garden is also described as a productive place where there was a plum tree and her mother grew vegetables such as eggplants. This garden was in the house in Kikuzaka-cho where Ichiyô, her mother and sister lived before they moved to Shitaya to run the shop.

<sup>15</sup> However, Machi’s biological father is not really clarified in the text.

<sup>16</sup> Danly writes in his footnote that “a wild flower” [女郎花] is actually “a perennial plant with yellow flowers, of the *Valerianaceae* family” (317).

### Works Cited

- Ackroyd, Joyce. "Women in Feudal Japan." *The Samurai Tradition*. Vol. 2. Ed. Stephen R Turnbull. Surrey: Japan Lib., 2000. 31-68. 2 vols.
- Adelaide, Debra. *Bibliography of Australian Women's Literature 1795-1990: A Listing of Fiction, Poetry, Drama and Non-Fiction Published in Monograph Form Arranged Alphabetically by Author*. Port Melbourne: Thorpe, in Assn. with National Centre for Australian Studies, 1991.
- , ed. *A Bright and Fiery Troop: Australian Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century*. Ringwood: Penguin, 1988.
- Aoki, Toshihiro. "The Currents of Ichiyô Criticism [樋口一葉研究のいま]." *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to Kyôzai no Kenkyû* 39.11 (1994): 136-39.
- Arai, Tomiyo. *The Irritation of Women Protagonists: From Higuchi Ichiyô to Tomioka Taeko* [女主人公の不機嫌：樋口一葉から富岡多恵子まで]. Tokyo: Sôbunsha Shuppan, 2001.
- Ariyoshi, Sawako. *The Twilight Years* [恍惚の人]. Tokyo: Shinchôsha, 1991.
- Ashworth, Arthur. Rev. of *Childhood at Brindabella*, by Miles Franklin. *Southerly* 24.1 (1964): 70-71.
- Baba, Kochô. "At the End of *Complete Works of Ichiyô* [一葉全集の末に]." Maeda and Noguchi Vol. 4. 291-309.
- Barnard, Marjorie. *Miles Franklin*. Sydney: Halstead, 1967.
- Barnes, John. "'Through Clear Australian Eyes:' Landscape and Identity in Australian Writing." Ed. P. R. Eaden and F. H. Mares. *Mapped But Not Known: The Australian Landscape of the Imagination: Essays and Poems Presented to Brian Elliott LXXV* 11 April 1985. Netley: Wakefield, 1986. 86-104.
- Barnouw, Erik et al., eds. *International Encyclopedia of Communications*. Vol. 2. New York: Oxford UP, 1989. 4 vols.

- Barthes, Roland. "The Death of the Author." *Image Music Text*. Trans. Stephen Heath. London: Fontana, 1977. 142-48.
- Baynton, Barbara. *Bush Studies*. London: Duckworth, 1902.
- Bernheimer, Charles et al. "The Bernheimer Report, 1993: Comparative Literature at the Turn of the Century." Ed. Charles Bernheimer. *Comparative Literature in the Age of Multiculturalism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1995. 39-48.
- Bernstein, Gail Lee, ed. *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1991.
- Bird, Delys. "Towards an Aesthetics of Australian Women's Fiction: *My Brilliant Career* and *The Getting of Wisdom*." *Australian Literary Studies* 11.2 (1983): 171-81.
- - -. "Gender and Landscape: Australian Colonial Women Writers." *New Literature Review* 18. Winter (1989): 20-36.
- Blain, Virginia, Patricia Clements and Isobel Grundy. *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English: Women Writers from the Middle Ages to the Present*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1990.
- Campbell, Deborah. "A Doll's House: The Colonial Response." Ed. Susan Dermody, John Docker and Drusilla Modjeska. *Nellie Melba, Ginger Meggs and Friends: Essays in Australian Cultural History*. Malmsbury: Kibble, 1982. 192-210.
- Campbell, James. Rev. of *My Career Goes Bung*, by Miles Franklin. *New Statesman* 15 May 1981: 21-22.
- Cantrell, Leon, ed. *The 1890s: Stories, Verse and Essays*. St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 1977.
- Chopin, Kate. *The Awakening and Selected Stories*. New York: Penguin, 1986.
- Clarke, Patricia. *Pen Portraits: Women Writers and Journalists in Nineteenth Century Australia*. London: Pandora, 1988.
- Clayton, Jay and Eric Rothstein. "Figures in the Corpus: Theories of Influence and Intertextuality." Ed. Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein. *Influence and Intertextuality in*

*Literary History*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1991. 3-36.

Coleman, Verna. *Miles Franklin in America: Her Unknown (Brilliant) Career*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1981.

Copeland, Rebecca L. *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2000.

---. "The Meiji Woman Writer 'Amidst a Forest of Beards.'" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57 (1997): 383-418.

Dale, Leigh and Helen Gilbert. "Looking the Same? A Preliminary (Post-Colonial) Discussion of Orientalism and Occidentalism in Australia and Japan." *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature* 41 (1993): 35-50.

Danly, Robert Lyons. *In the Shade of Spring Leaves: The Life and Writings of Higuchi Ichiyô, A Woman of Letters in Meiji Japan*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1981.

Davison, Graeme. "Sydney and the Bush: An Urban Context for the Australian Legend." *Historical Studies* 17 (1978): 191-209.

Dixson, Miriam. *The Real Matilda: Woman and Identity in Australia, 1788 to the Present*. 4th ed. Sydney: U of NSW P, 1999.

Docker, John. "Antipodean Literature: A World Upside Down?" *Overland* 103 (1986): 48-56.

---. *In a Critical Condition: Reading Australian Literature*. Ringwood: Penguin, 1984.

Dutton, Geoffrey. *The Literature of Australia*. 2nd ed. Ringwood: Penguin, 1976.

---. *The Australian Collection: Australia's Greatest Books*. North Ryde: Angus & Robertson, 1985.

Ellis, Havelock. *Kanga Creek: Havelock Ellis in Australia*. Ed. Geoffrey Dutton. Sydney: Pan, 1989.

Enomoto, Yoshiko. "Breaking Out of Despair: Higuchi Ichiyô and Charlotte Brontë." *Comparative Literature Studies* 24 (1987): 251-63.

Ferres, Kay. Introduction. *The Time to Write: Australian Women Writers 1890-1930*. Ed.

Ferres. Ringwood: Penguin, 1993. 1-16.

Ferrier, Carole, ed. *Gender, Politics, and Fiction: Twentieth Century Australian Women's Novels*. 2nd ed. St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 1992.

Franklin, Miles. *My Career Goes Bung*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1983.

---. *Childhood at Brindabella: My First Ten Years*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1983.

---. *My Brilliant Career*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1993.

---. *Laughter, Not for a Cage: Notes on Australian Writing, with Biographical Emphasis on the Struggles, Function, and Achievements of the Novel in Three Half-Centuries*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1956.

---. *Some Everyday Folk and Dawn*. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1909.

---. *The Net of Circumstance*. London: Mills and Boon, 1915.

---. *Up the Country: A Saga of Pioneering Days*. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1928.

---. *Ten Creeks Run: A Tale of the Horse and Cattle Stations of the Upper Murrumbidgee*. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1930.

---. *Back to Bool Bool: A Ramiparous Novel with Several Prominent Characters and Hantle of Others Disposed as the Atolls of Oceania's Archipelagoes*. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1931.

---. *Cockatoos: A Story of Youth and Exodists*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1954.

---. *My Brilliant Career* [わが青春の輝き]. Trans. Akiko Inoue. Tokyo: Sanrio, 1981.

Fujita, Kazumi. "Self-Expression of Suicide: Criticism of 'Wakarejimo' [自死の自己表現 : 「別れ霜」論]." *Shin Feminizumu* 25-38.

Fukuzawa, Yukichi. *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women*. Ed. Trans. Eiichi Kiyooka. Tokyo: U of Tokyo P, 1988.

Furphy, Joseph. *Such Is Life: Being Certain Extracts from the Diary of Tom Collins*. Sydney: Bulletin Newspaper, 1903.

Gardner, Susan. "My Brilliant Career: Portrait of the Artist as a Wild Colonial Girl." *Ferrier* 22-43.

- Gerson, Carole. "Wild Colonial Girls: New Women of the Empire, 1883-1901." *Journal of Commonwealth and Postcolonial Studies* 3.1 (1995): 61-77.
- Gilbert, Sandra and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1979.
- Giles, Fiona. "Romance: An Embarrassing Subject." Ed. Laurie Hergenhan. *The Penguin New Literary History of Australia*. Ringwood: Penguin, 1988. 223-37.
- Gingell, Susan. "Delineating the Differences: An Approach to Miles Franklin's *My Brilliant Career*." *Australian and New Zealand Studies in Canada* 3 (1990): 43-55.
- Glaspell, Susan. "A Jury of Her Peers." Ed. Susan Hill. *The Second Penguin Book of Modern Women's Short Stories*. London: Joseph, 1997. 89-112.
- Goodman, David. "The Politics of Horticulture." *Meanjin* 3 (1988): 403-12.
- Green, G. V. "Overturning the Doll's House: A Feminist Comparison between Olive Schreiner's *The Story of an African Farm* and Miles Franklin's *My Brilliant Career*." *CRUX* 17.2 (1983): 47-59.
- Green, H. M. *A History of Australian Literature: Pure and Applied: A Critical Review of All Forms of Literature Produced in Australia from the First Books Published after the Arrival of the First Fleet until 1950*. Rev. ed. London: Angus & Robertson, 1984.
- Grimshaw, Patricia, et al. *Creating a Nation*. Ringwood: Penguin, 1994.
- Hashimoto, Takeshi. "Degradation of Criticism [墮落としての批評]." *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to Kanshō* 60.6 (1995): 168-69.
- Henderson, Ian. "Gender, Genre, and Sybylla's Performative Identity in Miles Franklin's *My Brilliant Career*." *Australian Literary Studies* 18 (1997): 165-73.
- Higonnet, Margaret R. Introduction. *Borderwork: Feminist Engagements with Comparative Literature*. Ed. Higonnet. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994. 1-16.
- - -. "Comparative Literature on the Feminist Edge." Ed. Charles Bernheimer. *Comparative Literature in the Age of Multiculturalism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U P, 1995. 155-64.

- Higuchi, Ichiyô. *Complete Works of Higuchi Ichiyô* [全集 樋口一葉]. Ed. Maeda Ai and Noguchi Seki. Rev. ed. 4 vols. Tokyo: Shôgakukan, 1996.
- . *Complete Works of Higuchi Ichiyô* [一葉全集]. Ed. Baba Kochô. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1912.
- Hirabayashi, Taiko. "Study of Higuchi Ichiyô [樋口一葉論]." Yoshida 196-221.
- Hirata, Tokuboku. *Memories of Ichiyô* [一葉の思ひ出]. Maeda and Noguchi Vol. 4 388-94.
- Hirata, Yumi. *The Meiji History of Women's Expressions: Before Higuchi Ichiyô* [女性表現の明治史：樋口一葉以前]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999.
- Hiratsuka Raichô Chosakushû Henshû Iinkai [The Editing Committee of Writings by Hiratsuka Raichô]. *The Writings of Hiratsuka Raichô* [平塚らいてう著作集]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Ôtsuki Shoten, 1983. 7 vols.
- Hooton, Joy. "Miles Franklin's *Childhood at Brindabella*." *Meanjin* 46 (1987): 58-66.
- . "Joe Wilson and the Angel in the Bush." *Quadrant* 44 (2000): 66-73.
- Hosking, Susan. "'I 'Ad to 'Ave Me Garden:' A Perspective on Australian Women Gardeners." *Meanjin* 3 (1988): 439-53.
- Ibsen, Henrik. *A Doll's House*. New York: Dover, 1992.
- Ikari, Akira. "Ichiyô and Socialist Ideas [一葉と社会主義思想]." *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to Kanshō* 51.3 (1986): 8-15.
- Imai, Kuniko. *Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉]. 1940. Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentâ, 1993.
- Imai, Yasuko, Yabu Teiko and Watanabe Sumiko, eds. *Short Stories by Women Writers: An Enlarged Edition* [短編女性文学 近代：増補版]. Tokyo: Ôfû, 1999.
- Inoue, Hisashi and Komatshuza. *Asking Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉にきく]. Tokyo: Nesuko, 1995.
- Inoue, Yoshie. "Ichiyô and Feminism [一葉とフェミニズム]." *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to Kanshō* 60.6 (1995): 160-61.
- Iwabuchi, Hiroko, et al., eds. *An Invitation to Feminist Criticism: Reading Modern Women's Literature* [フェミニズム批評への招待：近代女性文学をよむ]. Tokyo: Gakugei

Shorin, 1995.

Iwami, Teruyo, et al., eds. *Dictionary of Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉辞典]. Tokyo: Ôfû, 1996.

Janusz, Sharon. "Feminism and Metaphor: Friend, Foe, Force?" *Metaphor and Symbolic Activist* 9 (1994): 289-300.

J. M. Rev. of *My Career Goes Bung*, by Miles Franklin. *Australian Book News* 1 (1946): 207.

Jones, Dorothy. "Cultivating Empire: The Gardens Women Write." *SPAN* 46 (1998): 31-44.

Joseishi Sôgô Kenkyûkai [The General Research Group of Women's History], ed. *History of Women in Japan* [日本女性史]. 5 vols. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1982.

Kan, Satoko. *The Time, Women and Higuchi Ichiyô* [時代と女と樋口一葉]. Tokyo: Nihon Hôshô Shuppan Kyôkai, 1999.

Katsumoto, Seiichirô. "Ichiyô: 'I Am Indeed a Woman' [一葉：われは女なりけるものを]." Takahashi Toshio 64-84.

Kent, Valerie. "Alias Miles Franklin." Ferrier 44-58.

Kiernan, Brian. "Realism and Romance." Ed. Ken L. Goodwin and Alan Lawson. *The Macmillan Anthology of Australian Literature*. South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1990. 409-14.

Kitada, Sachie. "Woman Who Crosses the Border – Oran: Criticism of 'Yamiyo' [越境する女—お蘭：「やみ夜」論]." *Shin Feminizumu* 79-101.

Komori, Yôichi. *Narrative as a Style* [文体としての物語]. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1988.

Kristeva, Julia. *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. Ed. Leon S. Roudiez. Trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine and Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia UP, 1984.

Lake, Marilyn. "The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculinist Context." *Historical Studies* 22 (1986): 116-31.

---. "Helpmeet, Slave, Housewife: Women in Rural Families 1870-1930." *Families in*



- Colonial Australia*. Ed. Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville and Ellen McEwen.  
Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985. 173-85.
- Lenta, Margaret. "My Brilliant Career: A Novel for Adolescence." *CRUX* 18.3-4 (1984):  
20-29.
- Mackie, Vera, ed. *Gendering Japanese Studies*. Melbourne: Japanese Studies Centre,  
Monash U, 1992.
- Maeda, Ai. "The Establishment of Ichiyô as Writer [作家一葉の誕生まで]." Maeda and  
Noguchi Vol. 1. 273-97.
- Magarey, Susan, et al., eds. *Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests 1890s*. St. Leonards:  
Allen & Unwin, 1993.
- Martin, Susan. "Relative Correspondence: Franklin's *My Brilliant Career* and the  
Influence of Nineteenth-Century Australian Women's Writing." *Ferres* 54-70.
- Martin, Sylvia. "Women's Secrets: Miles Franklin in London: The Story of a Friendship."  
*Meanjin* 51 (1992): 35-44.
- . *Passionate Friends: Mary Fullerton, Mabel Singleton, and Miles Franklin*. London:  
Onlywomen, 2001.
- Mathew, Ray. *Miles Franklin*. Melbourne: Lansdowne, 1963.
- Matsusaka, Toshio. *Study of Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉研究]. Tokyo: Kyôiku Shuppan Sentâ,  
1976.
- . "Mysterious Parts in Higuchi Ichiyô's Biography [樋口一葉伝の謎の部分]."  
*Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to Kanshō* 29.13 (1984): 122-26.
- McInherny, Frances. "Miles Franklin, *My Brilliant Career*, and the Female Tradition."  
*Walker* 70-83.
- Mitsutani, Margaret. "Higuchi Ichiyô: A Literature of Her Own." *Comparative Literature  
Studies* 22 (1985): 53-66.
- . "'Madness' and the Absence of Adolescence: Focusing on 'Yamizakura' [狂気と青春  
不在 : 「闇桜」を中心に]." *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to Kyôzai no Kenkyū* 39.1 (1994):

74-81.

Miyamoto, Yuriko. *Nobuko* [伸子]. Tokyo: Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 1994.

Modjeska, Drusilla. *Exiles at Home: Australian Women Writers 1925-1945*. Sydney:

Angus & Robertson, 1981.

Moers, Ellen. *Literary Women*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1976.

Morton, Leith. "Japanese Studies in the Humanities in Australia, 1980-1994." *Working Paper in Japanese Studies*. 7. Melbourne: Japanese Studies Centre, 1994.

Murakami, Nobuhiko. *History of Women in Meiji* [明治女性史]. 4 vols. Tokyo: Rironsha, 1973.

Muta, Orie. "Studies of Japanese Literature in Australia." *Australian Studies of Japan: Essays and Annotated Bibliography*. Ed. Jain Purnendra and Andrew Scott Beveridge. Rockhampton: Central Queensland UP, 1998. 228-43.

Nakagawa, Narumi. *Narrating Memories: Literature and Gender Studies* [語りかける記憶：文学とジェンダースタディーズ]. Tokyo: Ozawa Shoten, 1999.

Nakamura, Kazuko, Egusa Mitsuko and Fujimori Kiyoshi, eds. *Gender and Modern Japanese Literature* [ジェンダーの日本近代文学]. Tokyo: Kanrin Shobô, 1998.

Nishikawa, Yûko. *My Narrating of Higuchi Ichiyô* [私語り：樋口一葉]. Tokyo: Riburo Pôto, 1992.

North, Marilla. *Yarn Spinners: A Story in Letters, Dymphna Cusack, Florence James, Miles Franklin*. St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 2001.

Ochiai, Emiko. "Debates over the 'Ie' and the Stem Family: Orientalism East and West." *Japan Review: Bulletin of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies* 12 (2000): 105-28.

Olubas, Brigitta. "'Infinite Rehearsal' in the Work of Miles Franklin." *New Literature Review* 18 (1989): 37-47.

Ôtake, Hideo. *History of the "Ie" and Women* [「家」と女性の歴史]. Tokyo: Kôbundô, 1977.

Ôtsuka, Kusuoko. "Separated Lovebirds [離鴛鴦]." Ed. Ryôhei Shioda. *Collection of*

- Women's Writing in Meiji* [明治女流文学全集]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1977. 273-81.
- Palmer, Nettie. *Nettie Palmer: Her Private Journal, "Fourteen Yeas," Poems, Reviews and Literary Essays*. Ed. Vivian Smith. St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 1988.
- Palmer, Vance. *Legend of the Nineties*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1954.
- Parker, Peter and Frank Kermode, eds. *The Readers Companion to the Twentieth-Century Novel*. London: Fourth Estate/Helicon, 1994.
- Phillips, A. A. Rev. of *My Brilliant Career*, by Miles Franklin. *The Age* [Melbourne] 13 Aug. 1966: 924.
- Pike, Douglas, ed. *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 8. Clayton: Melbourne UP, 1981.
- Pratt, Catherine. "Walking round the World: Miles Franklin, Henry Handel Richardson and Christina Stead as Expatriate Australian Writers." *Women's Writing* 5 (1998): 213-28.
- Pybus, Cassandra. "The Real Mils Franklin?" *Meanjin* 42 (1983): 459-68.
- Roderick, Colin. *Miles Franklin: Her Brilliant Career*. Adelaide: Rigby, 1982.
- Roe, Jill. "The Significant Silence: Miles Franklin's Middle Years." *Meanjin* 39 (1980): 48-59.
- , ed. *My Congenials: Miles Franklin & Friends in Letters*. 2 vols. Pymble: State Lib. of NSW in Assn. with Angus & Robertson, 1993.
- Roe, Jill and Margaret Bettison, eds. *A Gregarious Culture: Topical Writings of Miles Franklin*. St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 2001.
- Rutherford, Anna. "Miles Franklin: The Outside Track." Ed. Britta Olinder. *Breaking Circles*. Sydney: Dangaroo P for Commonwealth Studies, Gothenburg U, 1991. 118-43.
- Saegusa, Kazuko. *One Floating Boat: The Life of Higuchi Ichiyô* [ひとひらの舟：樋口一葉の生涯]. Tokyo: Jinbun Shoin, 1994.

- Satô, Toshihiko. "Ibsen's Drama and the Japanese *Bluestockings*." *Edda* 5 (1981): 265-93.
- Saunders, Kay, and Raymond Evans, eds. *Gender Relations in Australia: Domination and Negotiation*. Sydney: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992.
- Schaffer, Kay. *Women and the Bush: Forces of Desire in the Australian Cultural Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988.
- Schmidt-Haberkamp, Barbara. "Performing Gender and Genre in Miles Franklin's *My Career Goes Bung*." *Connotations: A Journal for Critical Debate* 9 (1999-2000): 289-95.
- Seki, Reiko. *Reading Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉をよむ]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992.
- . *The Time for Women to Narrate: Ichiyô and Women's Expressions in Meiji* [語る女たちの時代：一葉と明治女性表現]. Tokyo: Shin'yôsha, 1997.
- . *Sister's Power: Higuchi Ichiyô* [姉の力：樋口一葉]. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1993.
- . "Ichiyô's Writing Desk as a Space: Diaries as the Media [文机の空間：メディアとしての一葉日記]." *Shin Feminizumu* 283-300.
- . "Imagination to the Woman Sumo Wrestler, Double Suicide and Madness: In Search of Ichiyô's Ecriture [女相撲・心中・狂気への想像力：一葉的エクリチュールを求めて]." *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to Kyôzai no Kenkyû* 39.1 (1994): 58-64.
- Setouchi, Harumi, ed. *Intellectual Passion of the Meiji Women: History of Modern Women* [明治女性の知的情熱：人物近代女性史]. Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1989.
- , ed. *Women's Literature, A Burning Fire: History of Modern Women* [火と燃えた女流文学：人物近代女性史]. Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1989.
- Setouchi, Harumi and Maeda Ai. "'Takekurabe' and Higuchi Ichiyô [「たけくらべ」と樋口一葉]." *Takahashi Toshio* 223-50.
- Sheridan, Susan. *Along the Faultlines: Sex, Race and Nation in Australian Women's Writing - 1880s-1930s*. St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1995.
- Shimaki, Ei. *Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉]. 1973. Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentâ, 1993.
- Shimazaki, Tôson. "From Shinkata-machi: Extracts [新片町より (抄)]." Maeda and

Noguchi Vol. 4. 262-63.

Shin Feminizumu Hihiyô no Kai [The New Association of Feminist Criticism], ed.

*Rereading Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉をよみなおす]. Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1994.

Shinmura, Izuru, ed. *Kôjien* [広辞苑]. 4th ed. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992.

Shioda, Ryôhei. *Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉]. 2nd ed. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1985.

Showalter, Elaine. *A Literature of Their Own*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977.

Sievers, Sharon L. *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1983.

Sircar, Sanjay. "My Career Goes Bung: Genre-Parody, Australianness and Anglophilia."

*Connotations: A Journal for Critical Debate* 8.2 (1998-99): 175-200.

Sôma, Gofû. "Criticism of Higuchi Ichiyô [樋口一葉論]." Yoshida 136-55.

Spender, Dale. *Writing a New World: Two Centuries of Australian Women Writers*.

London: Pandora, 1988.

---. *The Penguin Anthology of Australian Women's Writing*. Ringwood: Penguin, 1988.

Spender, Lynn. *Her Selection: Writings by Nineteenth-Century Australian Women*.

Ringwood: Penguin, 1988.

Strauss, Jennifer. "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman: Cultural Contexts and the

Quest for Identity in Alice Munro's *Lives of Girls and Women* and in Miles Franklin's *My Brilliant Career* and *My Career Goes Bung*." *Australian-Canadian Studies* 8.2 (1991): 41-55.

Summers, Anne. *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonization of Women in Australia*. Ringwood: Penguin, 1975.

Sutherland, Bruce. "Stella Miles Franklin's American Years." *Meanjin* 24 (1965): 439-54.

Tabata, Yasuko, Ueno Chizuko and Fukutô Sanae, eds. *Gender and Women*. [ジェンダーと女性]. Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1998.

Takada, Chinami. *A Range to Higuchi Ichiyô Criticism* [樋口一葉論への射程]. Tokyo: Sôbunsha Shuppan, 1997.

- Takahashi, Kazuhiko. *Complete Translation of Higuchi Ichiyô's Diaries into Modern Japanese* [完全現代語訳：樋口一葉日記]. Tokyo: Adoreê, 1993.
- Takahashi, Toshio. *Higuchi Ichiyô: A Collection of Criticism of "Takekurabe"* [樋口一葉：「たけくらべ」論集]. Tokyo: Kuresu Shuppan, 2001.
- Takamure, Itsue. *History of Women* [女性の歴史]. Tokyo: Insatsukyoku, 1948.
- . *Study of Matriarchy* [母系制の研究]. Tokyo: Dainihon Yûbenkai Kôdansha, 1954.
- Takitô, Mitsuyoshi. *Ichiyô's Writing: Generation and Development* [一葉文学：生成と展開]. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1998.
- Tanaka, Yukiko, ed. *Women Writers of Meiji and Taisho Japan: Their Lives, Works, and Critical Reception, 1868-1926*. Jefferson: McFarland, 2000.
- Tazaki, Yûko. "Moment of Choice in Miyamoto Yuriko's *Nobuko*." Ed. Julie Ann Carson and John Rehm. *In the Pacific Interest: Democracy, Women and the Environment: Selected Papers from the Conference Held at Willamette University, February 15-17, 1990*. Salem: Willamette U, 1991. 67-75.
- Thomas, Glenn. "Reading Women's Writing: The Critical Reception of Miles Franklin." *LING* 20.2 (1993): 78-82.
- Thomson, Helen. "Gardening in the Never-Never: Women Writers and the Bush." *Ferres* 19-37.
- Tokita, Alison. "The Place of Literature in Japanese Studies Today." *Japanese Studies: Bulletin of the Japanese Studies Association of Australia* 14.3 (1994): 1-8.
- Tomatsu, Izumi. "Criticism of 'Warekara:' Manifesting the World of the 'Novel' [「われから」試論：＜小説＞的世界の顕現]." *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to Kanshō* 60.6 (1995): 113-20.
- Ueno, Chizuko. *Engendering Nationalism* [ナショナリズムとジェンダー]. Tokyo: Seidosha, 1998.
- . *The Rise and Fall of Modern Family* [近代家族の成立と終焉]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994.

- Wada, Yoshie. *Ichiyô's Diaries* [一葉の日記]. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1956.
- Wakita, Haruko and S. B. Hanley, eds. *Gender and Japanese History* [ジェンダーの日本史]. 2 vols. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1994-95.
- Walker, Shirley, ed. *Who Is She?: Images of Woman in Australian Fiction*. St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 1983.
- - -. "The Deconstruction of 'The Bush:' Australian Women Short Story Writers." Ed. J Bardolph. *Short Fiction in the New Literatures in English: Proceedings of the Nice Conference of the European Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies*. Nice: Comite EACLALS, 1989. 77-82.
- Ward, Russel. *The Australian Legend*. 2nd ed. Melbourne: Oxford UP, 1980.
- Watanabe, Sumiko. *Criticism of Modern Japanese Women's Writing* [日本近代女性文学論]. Tokyo: Sekai Shisôsha, 1998.
- - -, ed. *For Those Who Study Women's Literature* [女性文学を学ぶ人のために]. Tokyo: Sekai Shisôsha, 2000.
- Webby, Elizabeth. Introduction. *My Brilliant Career: My Career Goes Bung*. By Miles Franklin. North Ryde: Collins/Angus & Robertson, 1990. v-xviii.
- White, Richard. *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1981.
- Wilde, W. H. , et al. *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*. Melbourne: Oxford UP, 1991.
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. London, 1892?.
- Yabu, Teiko. *Tôkoku, Tôson and Ichiyô* [透谷・藤村・一葉]. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1991.
- - -. "Ichiyô and Coming Generations [一葉と後代]." *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to Kanshō* 51.3 (1986): 149-53.
- Yamada, Yûsaku. *Depth of Modernity* [深層の近代]. Tokyo: Ôfû, 2001.
- Yanagida, Izumi, Katsumoto Seiichirô and Wada Yoshie. "From *The World of Literature* to *The Morning Star* [「文学界」から「明星」へ]." Takahashi, Toshio 96-122.

Yoshida, Seiichi. *Studies of Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉研究]. Tokyo: Shinchôsha, 1956.

Yuchi, Takashi. *Criticism of Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉論]. Tokyo: Shibundô, 1926.



### Works Consulted

- Allen, Judith. "The 'Feminisms' of the Early Women's Movements, 1850-1920." *Refractory Girl* 17 (1979): 10-17.
- - -. "Mundane Men: Historians, Masculinity and Masculinism." *Historical Studies* 22 (1987): 617-28.
- - -. "Breaking into the Public Sphere: The Struggle for Women's Citizenship in NSW 1890-1920." Ed. Judy Mackinolty and Heather Radi. *In Pursuit of Justice: Australian Women and the Law 1788-1979*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1979. 107-17.
- Altman, Dennis. "The Myth of Mateship." *Meanjin* 46 (1987): 163-72.
- Aoki, Kazuo. *Study of Ichiyô: From Higuchi Natsu in the Ambitious Family to Ichiyô as a Writer* [一葉論攷：立志の家系樋口奈津から作家一葉へ]. Tokyo: Ôfû, 1996.
- Aoki, Yayoi. *Gendered Cultures: An Attempt to Comparative Studies* [性差の文化：比較論の試み]. Tokyo: Kaneko Shobô, 1982.
- Barnard, Marjorie. "Miles Franklin." *Meanjin* 14 (1955): 468-87.
- Barnes, John. "'What Has He Done for Our National Spirit?': A Note on Lawson Criticism." *Australian Literary Studies* 8 (1978): 485-91.
- Beasley, Jack. *A Gallop of Fire: Katherine Susannah Prichard: On Guard for Humanity*. Earlwood: Wedgetail, 1993.
- Beichman, Janine. "Yosano Akiko in Heaven and Earth." Ed. Amy Vladick Heinrich. *Currents in Japanese Culture*. New York: Columbia UP, 135-54.
- Bender, Bert. "Kate Chopin's Quarrel before *The Awakening*." *Journal of American Studies* 26.2 (1992): 185-204.
- - -. "The Teeth of Desire: *The Awakening* and *The Decent of Man*." *American Literature* 63 (1991): 451-73.
- Bird, Delys. "'Born for the Bush': An Australian Women's Frontier." *Australian & New Zealand Studies in Canada* 2. Fall (1989): 1-16.

- - -. "Mother, I Won't Never Go Drovin': Motherhood in Australian Narrative." *Westerly* 34.4 (1989): 41-50.
- - -. "Women in the Wilderness: Gender, Landscape and Eliza Brown's Letters and Journal." *Westerly* 36.4 (1991): 33-38.
- Birnbaum, Adele. "Moment of Choice in Higuchi Ichiyo's 'Jusan'ya.'" Ed. Julie Ann Carson and John Rehm. *In the Pacific Interest: Democracy, Women and the Environment: Selected Papers from the Conference Held at Willamette University, February 15-17, 1990*. Salem. OR: Willamette U, 1991. 55-61.
- Blake, W. *Miles Franklin: Novelist and Feminist*. South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1991.
- Bonifer, Susan M. "Hedda and Edna: Writing the Future." *The Bulletin of the West Virginia Association of College English Teachers* 14 (1992): 1-11.
- Braisted, William Reynolds. *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1976.
- Britain, Ian. "A Transplanted Doll's House: Ibsenism, Feminism and Socialism in Late-Victorian and Edwardian England." Ed. Ian Donaldson. *Transformations in Modern European Drama*. London: MacMillan in Assn. with Humanities Research Centre, ANU, 1983: 14-54.
- Brownstein, Michael C. "From Kokugaku to Kokubungaku: Canon-Formation in the Meiji Period." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47 (1987): 435-60.
- Buckley, Sandra, ed. *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997.
- Carpentier, Martha C. "Susan Glaspell's Fiction: 'Fidelity' as American Romance." *Twentieth Century Literature* 40.1 (1994): 92-113.
- Carruthers, Virginia Kirby Smith. "An Outback Sybyl: The Renegade Heroine of *My Brilliant Career*." *West Virginia University Philological Papers* 32 (1986-87): 41-48.
- Chien, Ying-Ying. "Feminism and China's Nora: Ibsen, Hu Shi & Lu Xun." *The Comparatist: Journal of the Southern Comparative Literature Association* 19 (1995):

97-113.

Chopin, Kate. *The Complete Works of Kate Chopin*. Ed. Per Seyersted. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1984.

Clancy, Jack. "Bringing Franklin Up to Date: The Film of *My Brilliant Career*." *Australian Literary Studies* 9 (1980): 363-67.

Clark, Manning. *The Quest for an Australian Identity*. St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 1980.

---. *A Short History of Australia*. 2nd ed. South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1981.

---. *In Search of Henry Lawson*. Melbourne: Macmillan, 1978.

Clunies Ross, Bruce A. "Landscape and the Australian Imagination." Ed. P. R. Eaden and F. H. Mares. *Mapped But Not Known: The Australian Landscape of the Imagination: Essays and Poems Presented to Brian Elliott LXXV 11 April 1985*. Netley: Wakefield, 1986. 224-43.

Coleman, Verna. "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman." *Quadrant* 23 (1979): 67-69.

Collellmir, Dolores. "Landscape in Australian Culture, Vertical and Horizontal Lines/Lives: A Need for Freedom in the Films *Picnic at Hanging Rock* and *My Brilliant Career*." Ed. Susan Ballyn. *A Spanish Sampler of Australian Studies*. Barcelona: Department de Filologia Anglesa i Alemanya (Universitat de Barcelona), 1996. 25-36.

Copeland, Rebecca L. "Motherhood as Institution." *Japan Quarterly* 39 (1992): 101-10.

---. "Shimizu Shikin's 'The Broken Ring': A Narrative of Female Awakening." *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 6 (1994): 38-47.

Daniels, Kay, ed. *So Much Hard Work: Women and Prostitution in Australian History*. Sydney: Fontana, 1984.

Doskow, Minna. "Charlotte Perkins Gilman: The Female Face of Social Darwinism." *Weber Studies: An Interdisciplinary Humanities Journal* 14.3 (1997): 9-22.

Dowling, Linda. "The Decadent and the New Woman in the 1890's." *Nineteenth Century Fiction* 33 (1979): 434-53.

Duncun, Roy. "Miles Franklin: An Unpublished Teenage Novel." *Australian Literary*

*Studies* 19.8 (1977): 91-93.

Dymkowski, Christine. "On the Edge: The Plays of Susan Glaspell." *Modern Drama* 31.1 (1988): 91-105.

Earl, David Magarey. *Emperor and Nation in Japan: Political Thinkers of the Tokugawa Period*. Seattle: U of Washington P, 1964.

Ericson, Joan E. *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1997.

Espak, Gabriella. "Expelled at Adolescence: Miles Franklin, *My Brilliant Career* Criticism." Ed. Carl Whitehouse and Gyula Tanko. *Breaking Ground: Eight Student Essays on Australian Literature: A Collection of Papers in Australian Studies*. Budapest: Australian Studies Programme, School of English and American Studies, Eotvos Lorand U ELTE, 1996. 43-53.

Frost, Lucy, ed. *No Place for a Nervous Lady: Voices from the Australian Bush*. Fitzroy: McPhee Gribble/Penguin, 1984.

Giles, Fiona. *From the Verandah: Stories of Love and Landscape by Nineteenth Century Australian Women*. Fitzroy: McPhee Gribble/Penguin, 1987.

Grieve, Norma and Alisa Burns, eds. *Australian Women: New Feminist Perspectives*. Melbourne: Oxford UP, 1987.

Grieve, Norma, and Patricia Grimshaw, eds. *Australian Women: Feminist Perspectives*. Melbourne: Oxford UP, 1981.

Grimshaw, Patricia. "Women and the Family in Australian History: A Reply to *The Real Matilda*." *Historical Studies* 18 (1979): 412-21.

- - -. "Gender, Citizenship and Race in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Australia, 1890 to the 1930s." *Australian Feminist Studies* 13 (1998): 199-214.

Hallgren, Sherri. "'The Law Is the Law – and a Bad Stove Is a Bad Stove:' Subversive Justice and Layers of Collusion in 'A Jury of Her Peers.'" Ed. Deirdre Lashgari. *Violence, Silence, and Anger*. Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1995. 203-18.

- Higonnet, Margaret R. "Academic Anorexia? Some Gendered Questions about Comparative Literature." *Comparative Literature* 49 (1997): 267-74.
- Higuchi Ichiyô Kenkyûkai [The Research Group of Higuchi Ichiyô], ed. *A Collection of Higuchi Ichiyô Criticism* [論集：樋口一葉]. Tokyo: Ôfû, 1996.
- . *A Collection of Higuchi Ichiyô Criticism II* [論集：樋口一葉II]. Tokyo: Ôfû, 1998.
- Hill, Susan, ed. *The Second Penguin Book of Modern Women's Short Stories*. London: Joseph, 1997.
- Hollister, Michael. "Spatial Metaphors in Literature: Text-Oriented Contextualization." *Mosaic* 28.2 (1995): 1-22.
- Hurley, Kelly. "Hereditary Taint and Cultural Contagion: The Social Etiology of Fin-de-Siecle Degeneration Theory." *Nineteenth-Century-Contexts* 14 (1990): 193-214.
- Inoue, Hisashi. *Headache, Stiff Shoulders and Higuchi Ichiyô* [頭痛、肩こり、樋口一葉]. Tokyo: Shûeisha, 1984.
- Kawaguchi, Masao. *Letters of Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉の手紙]. Tokyo: Taishûkan Shoten, 1998.
- Kitagawa, Akio. *A Phenomenon in the Name of Ichiyô: Meiji and Higuchi Ichiyô* [一葉という現象：明治と樋口一葉]. Tokyo: Kyôin Shokan, 1998.
- Koloski, Berbard, ed. *Approaches to Teaching Chopin's The Awakening*. New York: MLA, 1988.
- Konrad, Linn B. "Father's Sins and Mother's Guilt: Dramatic Responses to Darwin." Ed. James Redmond. *Drama, Sex and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985. 137-49.
- Kornicki, Peter F. "The Survival of Tokugawa Fiction in the Meiji Period." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41 (1981): 461-82.
- Koyama, Shizuko. *A Norm of Good Wife and Wise Mother* [良妻賢母という規範]. Tokyo: Keisô Shobô, 1991.
- Kriegel, Harriet, ed. *Women in Drama*. New York: Mentor, 1975.
- Lake, Marilyn. "Women, Gender and History." *Australian Feminist Studies* 7&8 (1988):

1-9.

- - -. "The Independence of Women and the Brotherhood of Man: Debates in the Labour Movement over Equal Pay and Motherhood Endowment in the 1920s." *Labor History* 63 (1992): 1-24.

Latin, Patricia Hopkins. "Childbirth and Motherhood in Kate Chopin's Fiction." *Regionalism and the Female Imagination* 12 (1998): 153-63.

Lepervanche, Marie de. "Breeders for Australia: A National Identity for Women?" *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 24 (1989): 163-82.

Lipitt, Noriko Mizuta. "Seitô and the Literary Roots of Japanese Feminism." *International Journal of Women's Studies* 2.2 (1979): 155-63.

Lyths, Martyn and John Arnold, eds. *A History of the Book in Australia 1891-1945: A National Culture in a Colonial Market*. St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 2001.

Macpike, Lorelee. "The Social Values of Childbirth in the Nineteenth-Century Novel." *International Journal of Women's Studies* 3 (1980): 117-30.

- - -. "The Fallen Woman's Sexuality: Childbirth and Censure." *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 27 (1984): 54-71.

Maeda, Ai. *The World of Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉の世界]. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1978.

Makowsky, Veronica. "Susan Glaspell and Modernism." Ed. Brenda Murphy. *The Cambridge Companion to American Women Playwrights*. London: Cambridge UP, 1999. 49-65.

Martin, Susan K. "Gender, Genera, Genre, and Geography: Colonial Women's Writing and the Uses of Botany." Ed. Caroline Guerin et al. *Crossing Lines: Formations of Australian Culture*. Adelaide: Proc. of the Assn. for the Study of Australian Literature Conf., 1995. 30-39.

Masuda, Mizuko. *Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉]. Tokyo: Shin'yôsha, 1998.

Matsuoka, Naomi. "Japanese-English Translation and the Stream of Consciousness." *Tamkang Review: A Quarterly of Comparative Studies between Chinese and Foreign*

*Literatures* 19 (1988-89): 537-45.

Matthews, Boris. *The Herder Dictionary of Symbols: Symbols from Art, Archeology, Mythology, Literature, and Religion*. Wilmette: Chiron, 1993.

McConville, Chris. "Rough Women, Respectable Men and Social Reform: A Response to Lake's 'Masculinism.'" *Historical Studies* 22 (1987): 432-40.

Mill, John Stuart. *The Subjection of Women*. Ed. Subatra Mukherjee and Sushila Ramaswamy. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1995.

Mitsutani, Margaret. "Renaissance in Women's Literature." *Japan Quarterly* 33 (1986): 313-19.

Moore, Inglis T. "The Meanings of Mateship." *Meanjin* 24 (1965): 45-54.

Mori, Mayumi. *Ichiyô in Four Seasons* [一葉の四季]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001.

Muta, Kazue. "Images of the Family in Meiji Periodicals: The Paradox Underlying the Emergence of the 'Home.'" Trans. Marcella S. Gregory. *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal: English Supplement* 7 (1994): 53-71.

Muta, Orie. "Images of Australia in Japanese Literature." Ed. Manfred Jurgensen. *Riding Out: Contemporary Writing*. Brisbane: Outrider/Phoenix, 1994. 146-59.

Nakagawa, Victoria Vermon. "Three Japanese Women Writers: Higuchi Ichiyô, Sata Ineko and Kurahashi Yumiko." Diss. U of California, 1981.

Nakamura, Toshiko. "Three a Doll's House in Japan." *Edda* 3 (1985): 163-71.

- - -. "Ibsen in Japan: Tsubouchi Shôyô and His Lecture on New Woman." *Edda* 5 (1982): 261-72.

Neale, R. S. "John Stuart Mill on Australia: A Note." *Historical Studies* 13 (1968): 239-45.

Nesbitt, Bruce. "Literary Nationalism and the 1890s." *Australian Literary Studies* 5.1 (1971): 3-17.

Nile, Richard, ed. *The Australian Legend and Its Discontents*. St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 2000.

Nisbet, J. F. *Marriage and Heredity: A View of Psychological Evolution*. London, 1889.

- Nishikawa, Yûko. "The Changing Form of Dwellings and the Establishment of the 'Katei' (Home) in Modern Japan." Trans. Mariko Muro Yokokawa. *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal: English Supplement* 8 (1995): 3-36.
- Ochiai, Emiko. *Modern Family and Feminism* [近代家族とフェミニズム]. Tokyo: Keisô Shobô, 1990.
- . *The Turning Point of Modern Family* [近代家族の曲がり角]. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2000.
- Ogino, Miho. *The Politics of Reproduction* [生殖の政治学]. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1994.
- Ono, Takeo. *Pictorial History of Prostitutes and Brothels* [遊女と廓の図誌]. Tokyo: Tenbôsha, 1983.
- Palmer, Vance. "Miles Franklin." *A.B.C. Weekly* 11 December 1954: 11.
- Poston, Carol H. "Childbirth in Literature." *Feminist Studies* 4.2 (1978): 18-31.
- Quiggin, Pat. *No Rising Generation: Women & Fertility in Late Nineteenth Century Australia*. Canberra: Dept. of Demography, Research School of Social Sciences, ANU, 1988.
- Rabine, Leslie W. "Ecriture Féminine as Metaphor." *Cultural Critique* 8 (1987-88): 19-44.
- Rich, Adrienne. *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. London: Virago, 1986.
- Rimer, Thomas J. "The Metamorphosis of Disguise: Ibsen, Soseki, and Ogai." Ed. Amy Vladeck Heinrich. *Currents in Japanese Culture*. New York: Columbia UP, 1997: 253-62.
- Roberts, Jan. *Maybanke Anderson: Sex, Suffrage & Social Reform*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1993.
- Roe, Jill. "The World of Miles Franklin." *Southerly* 54.4 (1995): 84-94.
- . "Laughter, Not for a Cage: Miles Franklin and the Writing of Australian Literary History." Ed. Irmtraud Petersson and Martin Duwell. *And What Books Do You*



- Read?:" New Studies in Australian Literature*. St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 1996. 51-62.
- - -. "Australian Women in America: From Miles Franklin to Jill Ker Conway." Ed. Harold Bolitho and Chris Wallace-Crabbe. *Approaching Australia: Papers from the Harvard Australian Studies Symposium*. Cambridge: Harvard U, Committee on Australian Studies, 1998. 139-58.
- - -. "Forcing the Issue: Miles Franklin and Australian Identity." *Hecate* 17 (1991): 67-73.
- Roe, Phil. "Sybyllascape: Language and Landscape – Intervening in the Historical Space of Literary Narrative." *SPAN* 32. Apr. (1991): 24-31.
- Rose, Paulette. "Miles Franklin: Chronicler of the Australian Bush and Early Feminist." Ed. Harris Alice Kessler, and William McBrien. *Faith of a (Woman) Writer*. Westport: Greenwood, 1988. 119-27.
- Rowley, G. G. "Literary Canon and National Identity: *The Tale of Genji* in Meiji Japan." *Japan Forum* 9.1 (1997): 1-15.
- Rowley, Sue. "Slip-Rails and Spur: Courting Bush Sweethearts in Australian Nationalist Mythology." *SPAN* 26. Apr. (1988): 15-32.
- - -. "Inside the Deserted Hut: The Representation of Motherhood in Bush Mythology." *Westerly* 34.4 (1989): 76-96.
- Rubin, Ray. *Injurious to Public Morals: Writers and the Meiji State*. Seattle: U of Washington P, 1984.
- Russell, Penny. "'For Better and for Worse:' Love, Power and Sexuality in Upper-Class Marriages in Melbourne, 1860-1880." *Australian Feminist Studies* 7&8 (1988): 11-26.
- Sand, Jordan. "At Home in the Meiji Period: Inventing Japanese Domesticity." Ed. Stephen Vlastos. *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998. 191-207.
- Satô, Saburô. "Ibsen's Impact on Novelist Shimazaki Tôson." *Comparative Literature* 33 (1996): 77-81.

- Satô, Toshihiko. "Ibsen and Emancipation of Women in Japan." *Orient West* 9.5 (1964): 73-77.
- - -. "Scandinavian Literature in Japan." *Scandinavica: An International Journal of Scandinavian Studies* 4 (1965): 16-26.
- - -. "Eight Ibsen Plays and a Modern Japanese Drama A Vicarage: A Study of Influence." *Contemporary Approaches to Ibsen: Ibsenarboken Ibsen Yearbook* (1978): 169-77.
- Schaffer, Kay. "Landscape Representation and Australian National Identity." *Australian Journal of Cultural Studies* 4.2 (1987): 47-60.
- Sekiguchi, Yûko, et al., eds. *History of Japanese Women in Literature* [文学にみる日本女性の歴史]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 2000.
- Seki, Ryôichi. *Higuchi Ichiyô: Investigation and Criticism* [樋口一葉：考証と試論]. Tokyo: Yûseidô, 1970.
- Setouchi, Harumi. *Tamura Toshiko* [田村俊子]. Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1966.
- Setouchi, Jakuchô. *My Higuchi Ichiyô* [わたしの樋口一葉]. Tokyo: Shôgakukan, 1996.
- Seyersted, Per. *Kate Chopin: A Critical Biography*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1969.
- Shatzky, Joel. "Heredity as Metaphor in Ibsen's Plays." *EDDA* (1974): 227-34.
- Shaw, George Bernard. Ed. *Major Critical Essays: The Quintessence of Ibsenism, The Perfect Wagnerite, The Sanity of Art*. London: Constable and Company, 1948.
- Shefer, Elaine. *Birds, Cages and Women in Victorian and Pre-Raphaelite Art*. New York: Lang, 1990.
- Sheridan, Susan. "Transvestite Feminism: The Politics of the Australian Woman, 1894." *Women's History Review* 2 (1993): 349-61.
- Shin Feminizumu Hihiyô no Kai [The New Association of Feminist Criticism], ed. *Reading Bluestocking* [青鞥をよむ]. Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1998.
- Shioda, Ryôhei. *Criticism of Women Writers in Meiji* [明治女流作家論]. Tokyo: Nara Shobô, 1965.

- Shipley, Joseph Twadell. *Ibsen: Five Major Plays: Analytic Notes and Review*, A Doll's House, Ghosts, The Wild Duck, Hedda Gabler, The Master Builder. New York: American R.D.M., 1965.
- Showalter, Elaine. Introduction. *Daughters of Decadence: Women Writers of the Fin-de-Siecle*. Ed. Showalter. London: Virago, 1993. vii-xx.
- - -. "Syphilis, Sexuality, and the Fiction of the Fin-de-Siecle." Ed. Ruth Bernard Yeazell. *Sex, Politics, and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Novel: Selected Paper from the English Institute, 1983-84*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U, 1986. 88-115.
- - -. Introduction: The Rise of Gender. *Speaking of Gender*. Ed. Showalter. New York: Routledge, 1989. 1-13.
- Sibley, William F. "Naturalism in Japanese Literature." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28 (1968): 157-69.
- Sissons, D. C. "Karayuki-san: Japanese Prostitutes in Australia, 1887-1916 - II." *Historical Studies* 17 (1976-77): 474-88.
- Sladen, Douglas. *Queer Things about Japan*. 3rd ed. London: Treherne, 1904.
- Smart, Judith. "A Mission to the Home: The Housewives Association, The Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Protestant Christianity, 1920-1940." *Australian Feminist Studies* 13 (1998): 215-34.
- Sôgô Joseishi Kenkyûkai [The General Research Group of Women's History], ed. *"Ie" and Women* [「家と女性」]. Tokyo: Kôbunkan, 1997.
- Summers, Anne. "The Self Denied: Australian Women Writers, Their Image of Women." *Refractory Girl* 2 (1973): 4-11.
- Sutherland, Bruce. "Sydney and the Bush (Extracts from Lawson's Fugitive Prose)." *Southerly* 4 (1964): 204-08.
- Takahashi, Nobuyoshi. *Imperial Rescript on Education and School Education* [教育勅語と学校教育]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990.
- Takamure, Itsue. *Takamure Itsue: The Diary of a Woman of the Burning Country: Extracts*

[高群逸枝：火の国の女の日記 抄]. Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentâ, 1999.

Tanabe, Natsuko and Miyake Kaho. *Memories of Ichiyô* [一葉の憶ひ出]. Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentâ, 1990.

Tanaka, Yukiko, ed. *To Live and to Write: Selections by Japanese Women Writers 1913-1938*. Seattle: Seal, 1987.

Theobald, Marjorie. *Knowing Women: Origins of Women's Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia*. Melbourne: Cambridge UP, 1996.

Theriot, Nancy M. "Mary Wollstonecraft and Margaret Fuller: A Theoretical Comparison." *International Journal of Women's Studies* 2 (1979): 560-74.

Tsuchiya, Shin'ichi and Matsubara Kyôko. "The Use of Euphorical Change Form in Higuchi Ichiyô's Novels: On Making Her Style Halfway between the Classical and the Common." *Keiryô Kokubungaku Mathematical Linguistics* 17 (1989): 112-22.

Ueno, Chizuko. "Collapse of 'Japanese Mothers.'" *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal: English Supplement* 10 (1996): 3-19.

- - -. "In the Feminine Guise: A Trap of Reverse Orientalism." *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal: English Supplement* 13 (1997): 3-25.

Urgo, Joseph R. "A Prologue to Rebellion: *The Awakening* and the Habit of Self-Expression." *Southern Literary Journal* 20 (1987): 22-32.

Wada, Yoshie, ed. *Study of Higuchi Ichiyô* [樋口一葉研究]. Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentâ, 1992.

Wakeling, Louise. "'Rattling the Orthodoxies:' A View of Ada Cambridge's *A Marked Man*." *Southerly* 4 (1989): 609-23.

Walker, Janet A. Introduction. *The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and the Ideal of Individualism*. By Walker. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1979: 3-29.

Warnken, William P. "Kate Chopin and Henrik Ibsen: A Study of *The Awakening* and *A Doll's House*." *Massachusetts Studies in English* 4 (1974-75): 43-49.

White, Kerry M. "'Blooming with Childhood's Fragrance:' Sweet Words and Tough Times

for Women Writers in the 1890s.” *Australian Feminist Studies* 7&8 (1988): 49-63.

Wilde, W. H. *The Search for Identity in Australian Biography*. Townsville: James Cook U of North Queensland, Foundation for Australian Literary Studies, 1991.

Yabu, Teiko. *Women in Fictions* [小説のなかの女たち]. Sapporo: Hokkaidô Shinbunsha, 1989.